

THE
WORKS
OF

Samuel Johnson, LL.D.

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES.

VOL. XIV.

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P R E F A C E.

THE performances contained in the present Volume, are such, as it is presumed, ought to have made a part of the Edition of Dr. Johnson's Works lately published. Their authenticity will need no other proof than the internal evidence they exhibit, though were such proof required, except in one or two instances, it might without much difficulty be produced. The merit of the several pieces will hardly be controverted. Why they were omitted is of no importance to enquire.

The reluctance which Dr. Johnson always shewed to giving any information concerning his anonymous works, and his silence to all enquiries on that subject, have left much to conjecture, and been the cause of some mistakes. It is incredible, that he should have assumed to himself the works of other writers, and therefore it is more probable, that he tacitly acquiesced to enquiries which he was resolved not to satisfy and would not contradict. Those who knew him best are convinced, that he left no directions behind him on the subject of any Edition of his

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Works,

P R E F A C E.

Works, or such only as on a strict enquiry would be found to be too hastily admitted.

That this excellent Writer, in whose praise too much cannot be said, should have neglected to publish a complete Edition of his works in his life-time, will be a subject of regret with many, and not without reason ; but when it is considered with what care he wrote, how little he altered, and how little room there is for alteration, it will diminish some of our concern. It was very justly observed by a celebrated female writer, that were an angel to give the *imprimatur*, Dr. Johnson's works were among those very few which would not be lessened by a line *. It may be further observed, that nothing really written by him has been yet brought to light which can in any degree disgrace his memory. Whatever injury his character has sustained, no part of it can with justice be imputed to his writings.

The publication of Posthumous Works is liable to many objections : From the inequalities of some of our best writers, it has been often found injurious to their reputation, to collect every scattered fragment of their productions. Still more injurious may it be thought to revive such performances as the more mature judgment of

* Piozzi's Anecdotes, p. 182.

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an Author may deem proper to consign to oblivion. The first of these objections, as has been already observed, will not apply to the works of Dr. Johnson. He always made it a rule, on no occasion, to relax his attention, and therefore will be found to require no indulgence on account of inaccuracies or negligence. To the other objection, the present Editor hardly conceives it incumbent on him to reply. It nowhere appears what Dr. Johnson's sentiments were on this subject, and were they known (though intitled to great deference) it would be still a question how far an Author is to be considered, as the sole judge of what ought to be suppressed of works already in print. Various circumstances may concur to place the sentiments of an Author and his reader at variance with each other. Were the determinations of writers on this subject considered as final, and without appeal, many excellent pieces which confer honour on the nation, must in that case cease to be printed. It cannot however be denied, but there is some reason to believe, that had Dr. Johnson revised his own works for publication, the twelfth and thirteenth Volumes, containing those exquisite models of senatorial eloquence, and probably the first two pieces of the present Volume, would have been excluded. To ask whether the public

would

P R E F A C E.

would have submitted to such an exclusion, is little short of an insult on taste, criticism and common sense.

In collecting the materials which compose the present Volume, recourse has been had to the friends of Dr. Johnson now living, and from them the chief authorities for ascribing the several pieces to him have been derived. For the few notes marked E. the Editor is answerable. If they are not very important, they solicit no praise, and are too few to need a long apology.

To conclude, the Editor, on a final review of the Volume before it is delivered to the Public, perceives no reason to apprehend that the pieces here restored to their Author ought to have been suppressed. Had he the slightest idea that the present publication would in the least affect the reputation of Dr. Johnson, no consideration would have induced him to have been any way accessory to it. On a subject of this kind he is sensible, opposite opinions will be held by well meaning persons. To the sense of the Public at large, however, all questions of this sort must ultimately be submitted, and he feels no reluctance to abide by the Public opinion, whether it shall end in censure or approbation.

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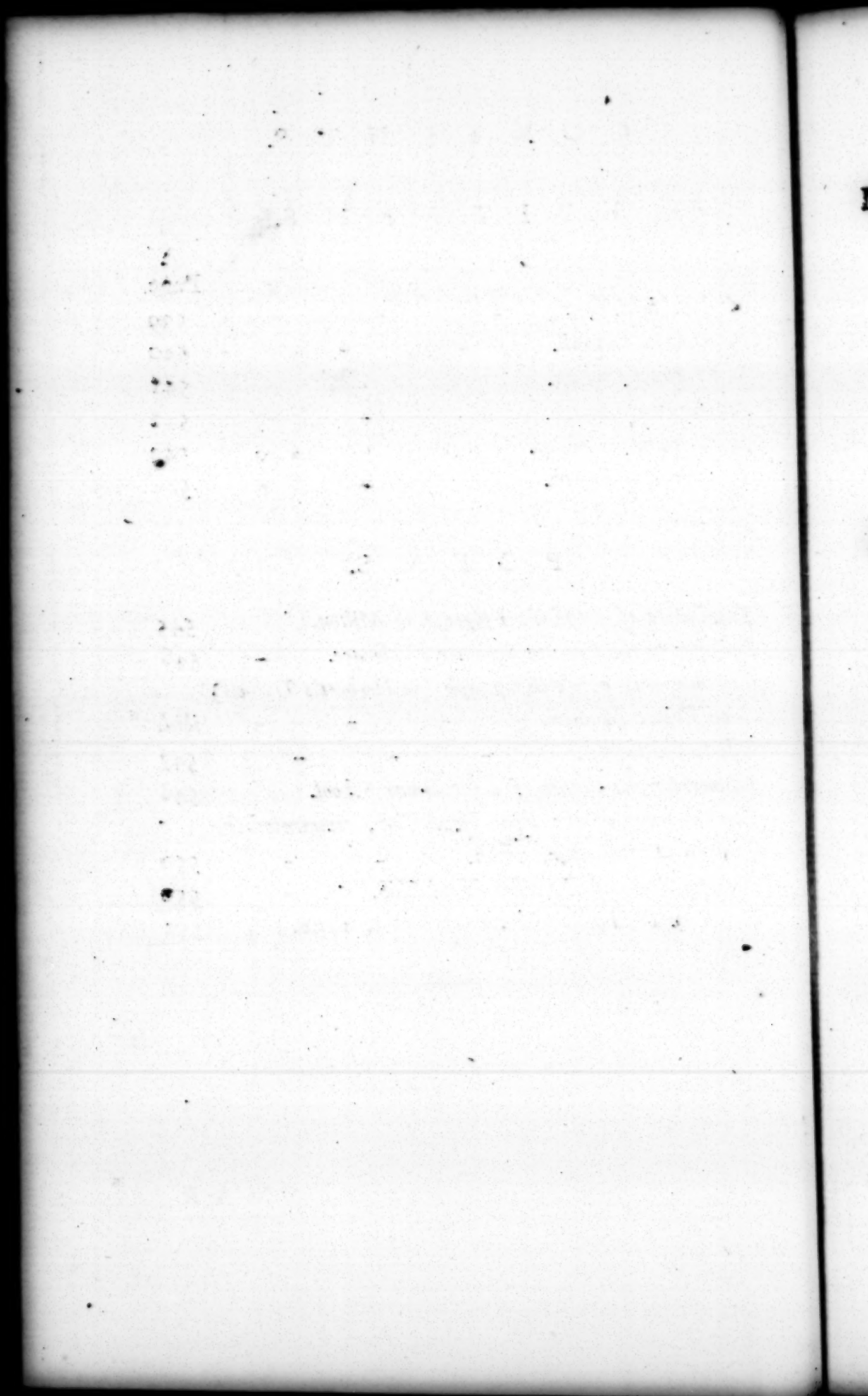
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MARMOR NORFOLCIENSE:

OR, AN

E S S A Y

ON AN ANCIENT

PROPHETICAL INSCRIPTION,

I N

MONKISH RHYME,

Lately discovered near LYNN, in NORFOLK.

By PROBUS BRITANICUS.

First printed in the Year MDCCXXXIX.

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AN
ESSAY
ON AN
ANCIENT INSCRIPTION
DISCOVERED NEAR
LYNN IN NORFOLK.

IN *Norfolk*, near the town of *Lynn*, in a field which an ancient tradition of the country affirms to have been once a deep lake or meer, and which appears from authentic records to have been called, about two hundred years ago, *Palus*, or the Marsh, was discovered not long since a large square stone, which is found upon an exact inspection to be a kind of coarse marble, of a substance not firm enough to admit of being polished, yet harder than our common quarries afford, and not

B 2 easily

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easily susceptible of injuries from weather or outward accidents.

2 --It was brought to light by a farmer, who observing his plough obstructed by something, through which the share could not make its way, ordered his servants to remove it. This was not effected without some difficulty, the stone being three feet four inches deep, and four feet square in the superficies, and consequently of a weight not easily manageable. However, by the application of levers, it was at length raised, and conveyed to a corner of the field, where it lay for some months entirely unregarded: nor perhaps had we ever been made acquainted with this venerable relique of antiquity, had not our good fortune been greater than our curiosity.

3 A Gentleman, well known to the learned world, and distinguished by the patronage of the *Mæcenæ* of *Norfolk*, whose name, was I permitted to mention it, would excite the attention of my reader, and add no small authority to my conjectures, observing, as he was walking that way, that the clouds began to gather and threaten him with a shower, had recourse for shelter to the trees under which this stone happened to lie, and sat down upon it in expectation of fair weather. At length he began to amuse himself in his confinement, by clearing the earth from his seat with the point of his cane; and had continued this employment some time, when he observed several traces of letters antique and irregular, which by being very deeply engraven were still easily distinguishable.

This discovery so far raised his curiosity, that going home immediately, he procured an instrument proper
for

MARMOR NORFOLCIENSE. 3

for cutting out the clay, that filled up the spaces of the letters, and with very little labour made the inscription legible, which is here exhibited to the public:

POST-GENITIS.

*Cum lapidem hunc, magni
Qui nunc jacet incola stagni,
Vel pede equus tanget,
Vel arator vomere franget,
Sentiet agra metus,
Effundet patria fletus,
Littoraeque ut fluctu,
Resonabunt oppida luctu:
Nam fecunda rubri
Serpent per prata colubri,
Gramina vastantes,
Flores fructusque vorantes,
Omnia sedantes,
Vitiantes, et spoliantes;
Quonquam haud pugnaces,
Ibunt per cuncta minaces,
Fures absque timore,
Et pingues absque labore.
Horrida dementes
Rapiet discordia gentes,
Plurima tunc leges
Mutabit, plurima reges
Natio, conversâ
In rabiem tunc contremet ursâ*

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*Cynthia, tunc latis
 Florebunt lilia pratis,
 Nec fremere audebit
 Leo, sed violare timebit,
 Omnia consuetus
 Populari pascua letus.
 Ante oculos natos
 Calceatos et cruciatos
 Jam feret ignavus,
 Vetitâque libidine pravus.
 En quoque quod mirum,
 Quod dicas denique dirum,
 Sanguinem equus fugit,
 Neque bellua victa remugit.*

5 These lines he carefully copied, accompanied in his letter of July 19, with the following translation.

TO POSTERITY.

*When'er this stone, now hid beneath the lake,
 The horse shall trample, or the plough shall break,
 Then, O my country! shalt thou groan distressed,
 Grief swell thine eyes, and terror chill thy breast.
 Thy streets with violence of woe shall sound,
 Loud as the billows bursting on the ground.
 Then thro' thy fields shall scarlet reptiles stray,
 And rapine and pollution mark their way.
 Their hungry swarms the peaceful vale shall fright
 Still fierce to threaten, still afraid to fight;*

The

*The teeming year's whole product shall devour,
 Insatiate pluck the fruit, and crop the flow'r :
 Shall glutton on the industrious peasants spoil,
 Rob without fear, and fatten without toil.
 Then o'er the world shall discord stretch her wings;
 Kings change their laws, and kingdoms change their kings.
 The bear enrag'd th' affrighted moon shall dread;
 The lilies o'er the vales triumphant spread;
 Nor shall the lyon, wont of old to reign
 Despotic o'er the desolated plain,
 Henceforth th' inviolable bloom invade,
 Or dare to murmur in the flow'ry glade;
 His tortur'd sons shall die before his face,
 While he lies melting in a lewd embrace;
 And, yet more strange! his veins a horse shall drain;
 Nor shall the passive coward once complain.*

I make not the least doubt, but that this learned person has given us, as an antiquary, a true and uncontrovertible representation of the writer's meaning, and am sure he can confirm it by innumerable quotations from the authors of the middle age, should he be publicly called upon by any man of eminent rank in the republic of letters; nor will he deny the world that satisfaction, provided the animadverter proceeds with that sobriety and modesty, with which it becomes every learned man to treat a subject of such importance.

Yet with all proper deference to a name so justly celebrated, I will take the freedom of observing that he has succeeded better as a scholar than a poet; having fallen below the strength, the conciseness, and at the

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same time below the perspicuity of his author. I shall not point out the particular passages in which this disparity is remarkable, but content myself with saying in general, that the criticisms, which there is room for on this translation, may be almost an incitement to some lawyer, studious of antiquity, to learn *Latin*.

8 The inscription which I now proceed to consider, wants no arguments to prove its antiquity to those among the learned, who are versed in the writers of the darker ages, and know that the *Latin* Poetry of those times was of a peculiar cast and air, not easy to be understood, and very difficult to be imitated, nor can it be conceived that any man would lay out his abilities on a way of writing, which though attained with much study could gain him no reputation, and engrave his chimeras on a stone to astonish posterity.

9 Its antiquity therefore is out of dispute, but how high a degree of antiquity is to be assigned it, there is more ground for enquiry than determination. How early *Latin* rhymes made their appearance in the world is yet undecided by the critics. Verses of this kind were called *Leonine*, but whence they derived that appellation the learned * *Camden* confesses himself ignorant, so that the stile carries no certain marks of its age. I shall only observe farther on this head, that the characters are

* See his Remains, 1614, p. 337, " Riming verses which are
" called *Versus Leonini*, I know not wherefore (for a lyon's taile
" doth not answer to the middle parts as these verses doe) began
" in the time of *Carolus Magnus*, and were only in request then
" and in many ages following, which delighted in nothing more
" then in this minckrelsie of meeters." E.

nearly

MARMOR NORFOLCIENSE. 9

nearly of the same form with those on King *Arthur's* coffin; but whether from their similitude we may venture to pronounce them of the same date, I must refer to the decision of better judges.

Our inability to fix the age of this inscription necessarily infers our ignorance of its author, with relation to whom many controversies may be started worthy of the most profound learning, and most indefatigable diligence.

The first question that naturally arises is, Whether he was a *Briton* or a *Saxon*? I had at first conceived some hope, that in this question, in which not only the idle curiosity of virtuosos, but the honour of two mighty nations is concerned, some information might be drawn from the word *Patria*, [my country] in the third line; *England* being not in propriety of speech the country of the *Saxons*; at least not at their first arrival. But upon farther reflection this argument appeared not conclusive, since we find that in all ages, foreigners have affected to call *England* their country, even when like the *Saxons* of old they came only to plunder it.

An argument in favour of the *Britons*, may indeed be drawn from the tenderness, with which the author seems to lament his country, and the compassion he shows for its approaching calamities. I, who am a descendant from the *Saxons*, and therefore unwilling to say any thing derogatory from the reputation of my forefathers, must yet allow this argument its full force: for it has been rarely, very rarely, known that foreigners, however well treated, carested, enriched, flattered or exalted, have regarded this country with the least gratitude or affection,
till

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till the race has, by long continuance, after many generations, been naturalized and assimilated.

13 They have been ready upon all occasions to prefer the petty interests of their own country, though perhaps only some desolate and worthless corner of the world. They have employed the wealth of *England*, in paying troops to defend mud-wall towns, and uninhabitable rocks, and in purchasing barriers for territories, of which the natural sterility secured them from invasion.

14 This argument, which wants no particular instances to confirm it, is, I confess, of the greatest weight in this question, and inclines me strongly to believe, that the benevolent author of this prediction must have been BORN A BRITON.

15 The learned discoverer of the inscription was pleased to insist with great warmth upon the etymology of the word *Patria*, which signifying, says he, *the land of my father*, could be made use of by none, but such whose ancestors had resided here: but in answer to this demonstration, as he called it, I only desired him to take notice, how common it is for intruders of yesterday, to pretend the same title with the ancient proprietors, and having just received an estate by voluntary grant, to erect a claim of *hereditary right*.

16 Nor is it less difficult to form any satisfactory conjecture, concerning the rank or condition of the writer, who, contented with a consciousness of having done his duty, in leaving this solemn warning to his country, seems studiously to have avoided that veneration, to which his knowledge of futurity undoubtedly entitled him, and those

MARMOR NORFOLCIENSE. 11

those honours which his memory might justly claim from the gratitude of posterity, and has therefore left no trace, by which the most sagacious and diligent enquirer can hope to discover him.

This conduct alone ought to convince us, that the prediction is of no small importance to mankind, since the author of it appears not to have been influenced by any other motive than that noble and exalted philanthropy, which is above the narrow views of recompense or applause. 17

That interest had no share in this inscription, is evident beyond dispute, since the age in which he lived received neither pleasure nor instruction from it. Nor is it less apparent from the suppression of his name, that he was equally a stranger to that wild desire of fame, which has sometimes infatuated the noblest minds. 18

His modesty, however, has not been able wholly to extinguish that curiosity, which so naturally leads us, when we admire a performance, to enquire after the author. Those whom I have consulted on this occasion, and my zeal for the honour of this benefactor of my country, has not suffered me to forget a single antiquary of reputation, have almost unanimously determined, that it was written by a King. For where else, said they, are we to expect that greatness of mind, and that dignity of expression, so eminently conspicuous in this inscription? 19

It is with a proper sense of the weakness of my own abilities, that I venture to lay before the public, the reasons which hinder me from concurring with this opinion, which I am not only inclined to favour by my respect for the authors of it, but by a natural affection for monarchy, 20

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monarchy, and a prevailing inclination to believe, that every excellence is inherent in a king.

21 To condemn an opinion so agreeable to the reverence due to the regal dignity, and countenanced by so great authorities, without a long and accurate discussion, would be a temerity justly liable to the severest censures. A supercilious and arrogant determination of a controversy of such importance, would doubtless be treated by the impartial and candid with the utmost indignation.

22 But as I have too high an idea of the learning of my contemporaries, to obtrude any crude, hasty, or indigested notions on the public, I have proceeded with the utmost degree of diffidence and caution; I have frequently reviewed all my arguments, traced them backwards to their first principles, and used every method of examination to discover whether all the deductions were natural and just, and whether I was not imposed on by some specious fallacy; but the farther I carried my enquiries, and the longer I dwelt upon this great point, the more was I convinced, in spite of all my prejudices, that this wonderful prediction was not written by a king.

23 For after a laborious and attentive perusal of histories, memoirs, chronicles, lives, characters, vindications, panegyrics and epitaphs, I could find no sufficient authority for ascribing to any of our *English* monarchs, however gracious or glorious, any prophetic knowledge or prescience of futurity: which, when we consider how rarely regal virtues are forgotten, how soon they are discovered, and how loudly they are celebrated, affords a probable argument at least, that none of them have laid
any

any claim to this character. For why should historians have omitted to embellish their accounts with such a striking circumstance? or if the histories of that age are lost by length of time, why was not so uncommon an excellence transmitted to posterity in the more lasting colours of poetry? Was that unhappy age without a Laureat? Was there then no *Young** or *Philips*†? no *Ward*‡ or *Mitchel*§ to snatch such wonders from oblivion, and immortalize a prince of such capacities? If this was really the case, let us congratulate ourselves upon being reserved for better days; days so fruitful of happy writers, that no princely virtue can shine in vain. Our monarchs are surrounded with refined spirits, so penetrating that they frequently discover in their masters great qualities invisible to vulgar eyes, and which, did not they publish them to mankind, would be unobserved for ever.

Nor is it easy to find in the lives of our monarchs many instances of that regard for posterity, which seems to have been the prevailing temper of this venerable man. I have seldom in any of the gracious speeches delivered from the throne, and received with the highest gratitude and satisfaction by both Houses of Parliament, discovered any other concern than for the current year, for which supplies are generally demanded in very pressing terms,

* Dr. Edward Young. E.

† Ambrose Philips, author of *The Distrest Mother*, &c. E.

‡ Edward Ward. See *Dunciad*, and *Biographia Dramatica*. E.

§ Joseph Mitchel. See *Biographia Dramatica*. E.

and

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and sometimes such as imply no remarkable solicitude for posterity.

25 Nothing indeed can be more unreasonable and absurd, than to require that a monarch, distracted with cares and surrounded with enemies, should involve himself in superfluous anxieties, by an unnecessary concern about future generations. Are not pretenders, mock-patriots, masquerades, operas, birth-nights, treaties, conventions, reviews, drawing-rooms, the births of heirs, and the deaths of queens, sufficient to overwhelm any capacity but that of a king? Surely he that acquits himself successfully of such affairs, may content himself with the glory he acquires, and leave posterity to his successors.

26 That this has been the conduct of most princes, is evident from the accounts of all ages and nations; and therefore I hope it will not be thought that I have, without just reasons, deprived this inscription of the veneration it might demand as the work of a king.

27 With what laborious struggles against prejudice and inclination, with what efforts of reasoning, and pertinacity of self-denial, I have prevailed upon myself to sacrifice the honour of this monument to the love of truth, none who are unacquainted with the fondness of a commentator will be able to conceive. But this instance will be, I hope, sufficient to convince the public, that I write with sincerity, and that whatever my success may be, my intentions are good.

28 Where we are to look for our author, it still remains to be considered; whether in the high road of public employments, or the by-paths of private life.

It

It has always been observed of those that frequent a court, that they soon, by a kind of contagion, catch the regal spirit of neglecting futurity. The minister forms an expedient to suspend or perplex an enquiry into his measures for a few months, and applauds and triumphs in his own dexterity. The peer puts off his creditor for the present day, and forgets that he is ever to see him more. The frown of a prince, and the loss of a pension, have indeed been found of wonderful efficacy, to abstract men's thoughts from the present time, and fill them with zeal for the liberty and welfare of ages to come. But I am inclined to think more favourably of the author of this prediction, than that he was made a patriot by disappointment or disgust. If he ever saw a court, I would willingly believe, that he did not owe his concern for posterity to his ill reception there, but his ill reception there to his concern for posterity. 29

However, since truth is the same in the mouth of a hermit, or a prince, since it is not reason but weakness, that makes us rate counsel by our esteem for the counsellor, let us at length desist from this enquiry, so useless in itself, in which we have room to hope for so little satisfaction. Let us shew our gratitude to the author, by answering his intentions, by considering minutely the lines which he has left us, and examining their import without heat, precipitancy, or party-prejudices; let us endeavour to keep the just mean, between searching ambitiously for far-fetched interpretations, and admitting such low meaning, and obvious and low sense, as is inconsistent with those great and extensive views, which it is reasonable to ascribe to this excellent man. 30

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31 It may be yet farther asked, whether this inscription, which appears in the stone, be an original, and not rather a version of a traditional prediction in the old *British* tongue, which the zeal of some learned man prompted him to translate and engrave in a more known language for the instruction of future ages: but as the lines carry at the first view a reference both to the stone itself, and very remarkably to the place where it was found, I cannot see any foundation for such a suspicion.

32 It remains now that we examine the sense and import of the inscription, which, after having long dwelt upon it with the closest and most laborious attention, I must confess myself not yet able fully to comprehend. The following explications, therefore, are by no means laid down as certain and indubitable truths, but as conjectures not always wholly satisfactory even to myself, and which I had not dared to propose to so enlightened an age, an age which abounds with those great ornaments of human nature, sceptics, anti-moralists, and infidels, but with hopes that they would excite some person of greater abilities, to penetrate farther into the oraculous obscurity of this wonderful prediction.

33 Not even the four first lines are without their difficulties, in which the time of the discovery of the stone seems to be the time assigned for the events foretold by it.

*Cum lapidem hunc, magni
Qui nunc jacet incola stagni,
Vel pede equus tanget,
Vel arator vomere franget,*

Sentiet

*Sentiet ægra metus,
Effundet patria fletus,
Littoraque ut fluctu,
Resonabunt oppida luctu.*

*Whene'er this stone, now hid beneath the lake,
The horse shall trample, or the plough shall break,
Then, O my country! shalt thou groan distressed,
Grief in thine eyes, and terror in thy breast.
Thy streets with violence of woe shall sound,
Loud as the billows bursting on the ground.*

When this stone, says he, which now lies hid beneath the waters of a deep lake, shall be struck upon by the horse, or broken by the plough, then shalt thou, my country, be astonished with terrors, and drowned in tears; then shall thy towns sound with lamentations, as thy shores with the roarings of the waves. These are the words literally rendered, but how are they verified? The lake is dry, the stone is turned up, but there is no appearance of this dismal scene. Is not all at home satisfaction and tranquillity? all abroad submission and compliance? Is it the interest or inclination of any prince or state to draw a sword against us? and are we not nevertheless secured by a numerous standing army, and a King who is himself an army? Have our troops any other employment than to march to a review? Have our fleets encountered any thing but winds and worms? To me the present state of the nation seems so far from any resemblance to the noise and agitation of a tempestuous sea, that it may

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be much more properly compared to the dead stillness of the waves before a storm.

*Nam fecunda rubri
Serpent per prata colubri,
Gramina vastantes,
Flores fructusque vorantes,
Omnia sedantes,
Vitiantes, et spoliantes;
Quanquam haud pugnaces,
Ibunt per cuncta minaces,
Fures absque timore,
Et pingues absque labore.*

*Then through thy fields shall scarlet reptiles stray,
And rapine and pollution mark their way.
Their hungry swarms the peaceful vale shall fright,
Still fierce to threaten, still afraid to fight;
The teeming year's whole product shall devour,
Insatiate pluck the fruit, and crop the flow'r:
Shall glutton on the industrious peasant's spoil,
Rob without fear, and fatten without toil.*

35 He seems, in these verses, to descend to a particular account of this dreadful calamity; but his description is capable of very different senses with almost equal probability.

36 Red serpents, says he, (*rubri colubri* are the Latin words, which the poetical translator has rendered *scarlet reptiles*, using

using a general term for a particular, in my opinion too licentiously.) *Red serpents shall wander o'er her meadows, and pillage and pollute, &c.* The particular mention of the colour of this destructive viper may be some guide to us in this labyrinth, through which, I must acknowledge, I cannot yet have any certain path. I confess, that when a few days after my perusal of this passage, I heard of the multitude of lady-birds seen in *Kent*, I began to imagine that these were the fatal insects, by which the *Island* was to be laid waste, and therefore looked over all accounts of them with uncommon concern. But when my first terrors began to subside, I soon recollected that these creatures, having both wings and feet, would scarcely have been called serpents; and was quickly convinced, by their leaving the country without doing any hurt, that they had no quality, but the colour, in common with the ravagers here described.

As I am not able to determine any thing on this question, I shall content myself with collecting, into one view, the several properties of this pestiferous brood, with which we are threatened, as hints to more sagacious and fortunate readers, who, when they shall find any *red animal* that ranges uncontrouled over the country, and devours the labours of the trader and the husbandman; that carries with it corruption, rapine, pollution and devastation; that threatens without courage, robs without fear, and is pampered without labour, they may know that the prediction is compleated. Let me only remark farther, that if the style of this, as of all other predictions, is figurative, the serpent, a wretched animal that crawls upon the earth, is a proper emblem of low

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views, self-interest, and base submission, as well as of cruelty, mischief, and malevolence.

38 I cannot forbear to observe in this place, that as it is of no advantage to mankind to be forewarned of inevitable and insurmountable misfortunes, the author probably intended to hint to his countrymen, the proper remedies for the evils he describes. In this calamity on which he dwells longest, and which he seems to deplore with the deepest sorrow, he points out one circumstance, which may be of great use to disperse our apprehensions, and awaken us from that panic which the reader must necessarily feel, at the first transient view of this dreadful description. These serpents, says the original, are *HAUD PUGNACES, of no fighting race*: they will threaten, indeed, and hiss, and terrify the weak, and timorous, and thoughtless, but have no real courage or strength. So that the mischief done by them, their ravages, devastations and robberies, must be only the consequences of cowardice in the sufferers, who are harrassed and oppressed only because they suffer it without resistance. We are therefore to remember whenever the pest here threatened shall invade us, that submission and tameness will be certain ruin, and that nothing but spirit, vigilance, activity, and opposition, can preserve us from the most hateful and reproachful misery, that of being plundered, starved, and devoured by vermin and by reptiles.

*Horrida dementes
Rapiet discordia gentes,*

Plurima

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*Plurima tunc leges
Mutabit, plurima reges
Natio,*

*Then o'er the world shall discord stretch her wings,
Kings change their laws, and kingdoms change their kings.*

Here the author takes a general survey of the state of the world, and the changes that were to happen about the time of the discovery of this monument in many nations. As it is not likely that he intended to touch upon the affairs of other countries any farther than the advantage of his own made it necessary, we may reasonably conjecture, that he had a full and distinct view of all the negotiations, treaties, confederacies, of all the triple and quadruple alliances, and all the leagues offensive and defensive, in which we were to be engaged, either as principals, accessaries, or guarrantees, whether by policy, or hope, or fear, or our concern for preserving the *ballance of power*, or our tenderness for the liberties of *Europe*. He knew that our negotiators would interest us in the affairs of the whole earth, and that no state could either rise or decline in power, either extend or lose its dominions, without affecting politics and influencing our councils.

This passage will bear an easy and natural application to the present time, in which so many revolutions have happened, so many nations have changed their masters, and so many disputes and commotions are embroiling almost in every part of the world.

That almost every state in *Europe* and *Asia*, that is, almost every country then known is comprehended in

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this prediction may be easily conceived, but whether it extends to regions at that time undiscovered, and portends any alteration of government in *Carolina* and *Georgia*, let more able or more daring expositors determine.

———*Conversa*

*In rabiem tunc contremet Ursa
Cynthia,*

The bear enrag'd, th' affrighted moon shall dread;

42

The terror created to the moon by the anger of the bear, is a strange expression, but may perhaps relate to the apprehensions raised in the *Turkish* empire, of which a crescent or new moon is the imperial standard, by the increasing power of the Empress of *Russia*, whose dominions lie under the northern constellation called the *Bear*.

———*Tunc latis*

Florebunt lilia pratis,

The lilies o'er the vales triumphant spread;

43

The lilies borne by the kings of *France* are an apt representation of that country; and their flourishing over wide extended vallies, seems to regard the new increase of the *French* power, wealth and dominions, by the advancement of their trade, and the accession of *Lorain*. This is at first view an obvious, but perhaps for

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for that very reason not the true inscription. How can we reconcile it with the following passage.

*Nec fremere audebit
Leo, sed violare timebit,
Omnia consuetus
Populari pascua letus.*

*Nor shall the lyon, wont of old to reign
Despotic o'er the desolated plain,
Henceforth th' inviolable bloom invade,
Or dare to murmur in the flow'ry glade;*

In which the lion that used at pleasure to lay the pastures waste, is represented as not daring to touch the lilies, or murmur at their growth: the lion, it is true, is one of the supporters of the arms of *England*, and may therefore figure our countrymen, who have in ancient times made *France* a desert. But can it be said, that the lion dares not murmur or rage (for *fremere* may import both) when it is evident, that for many years this whole kingdom has murmur'd! however, it may be at present calm and secure, by its confidence in the wisdom of our politicians and the address of our negotiators.

*Ante oculos natos
Calceatos et cruciatus
Jam feret ignavus,
Vetitaque libidine pravus.*

*His tortur'd sons shall die before his face,
While he lies melting in a lewd embrace;*

65 Here are other things mentioned of the lyon equally unintelligible, if we suppose them to be spoken of our nation, as that he lies sluggish, and depraved with unlawful lusts, while his offspring is trampled and tortured before his eyes. But in that place can the *English* be said to be trampled or tortured? Where are they treated with injustice or contempt? What nation is there from pole to pole that does not reverence the nod of the *British* King? Is not our commerce unrestrained? Are not the riches of the world our own? Do not our ships sail unmolested, and our merchants traffic in perfect security? Is not the very name of *England* treated by foreigners in a manner never known before? Or if some slight injuries have been offered, if some of our petty traders have been stopped, our possessions threatened, our effects confiscated, our flag insulted, or our ears cropped, have we lain sluggish and unactive? Have not our fleets been seen in triumph at *Spithead*? Did not *Hofier* visit the *Bastimentos*, and is not *Haddock* now stationed at *Port Mabon*?

*En quoque quod mirum,
Quod dicas denique dirum,
Sanguinem equus fugit,
Neque bellua victa remugit.*

*And, yet more strange! his veins a horse shall drain,
Nor shall the passive coward once complain.*

66 It is farther asserted in the concluding lines, that the horse shall suck the lion's blood. This is still more obscure

scure than any of the rest, and indeed the difficulties I have met with ever since the first mention of the lion are so many and great, that I had, in utter despair of surmounting them, once desisted from my design of publishing any thing upon this subject; but was prevailed upon by the importunity of some friends, to whom I can deny nothing, to resume my design; and I must own, that nothing animated me so much as the hope they flattered me with, that my essay might be inserted in the Gazetteer, and so become of service to my country.

That a weaker animal should suck the blood of a stronger without resistance is wholly improbable and inconsistent with the regard for self-preservation, so observable in every order and species of beings. We must therefore necessarily endeavour after some figurative sense not liable to so insuperable an objection. 47

Were I to proceed in the same tenor of interpretation, by which I explained the moon and the lilies, I might observe that a horse is the arms of H———. But how then does the horse suck the lion's blood? Money is the blood of the body politic.—But my zeal for the present happy establishment will not suffer me to pursue a train of thought that leads to such shocking conclusions. The idea is detestable, and such as, it ought to be hoped, can enter into the mind of none but a virulent Republican, or bloody Jacobite. There is not one honest man in the nation unconvinced how weak an attempt it would be to endeavour to confute this insinuation. An insinuation which no party will dare to abet, and of so fatal and destructive a tendency, that 48

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that it may prove equally dangerous to the author whether true or false.

49 As therefore I can form no hypothesis on which a consistent interpretation may be built, I must leave these loose and unconnected hints entirely to the candour of the reader, and confess that I do not think my scheme of explication just, since I cannot apply it throughout the whole, without involving myself in difficulties, from which the ablest interpreter would find it no easy matter to get free.

50 Being therefore convinced upon an attentive and deliberate review of these observations, and a consultation with my friends, of whose abilities I have the highest esteem, and whose impartiality, sincerity, and probity, I have long known and frequently experienced, that my conjectures are in general very uncertain, often improbable, and sometimes little less than apparently false, I was long in doubt whether I ought not entirely to suppress them, and content myself with publishing in the *Gazetteer*, the inscription, as it stands engraven on the stone, without translation or commentary, unless that ingenious and learned society, should favour the world with their own remarks.

51 To this scheme, which I thought extremely well calculated for the public good, and therefore very eagerly communicated to my acquaintance and fellow students, some objections were started, which as I had not foreseen, I was unable to answer.

52 It was observed first, That the *Daily Dissertations* published by that fraternity, are written with such profundity of sentiment, and filled with such uncommon modes of

of expression, as to be themselves sufficiently unintelligible to vulgar readers, and that therefore the venerable obscurity of this prediction, would much less excite the curiosity and awaken the attention of mankind, than if it were exhibited in any other paper, and placed in opposition to the clear and easy stile of an author generally understood.

To this argument, formidable as it was, I answered, after a short pause, that, with all proper deference to the great sagacity and advanced age of the objector, I could not but conceive that his position confuted itself, and that a reader of the *Gazetteer*, being by his own confession accustomed to encounter difficulties, and search for meaning where it was not easily to be found, must be better prepared than any other man for the perusal of these ambiguous expressions. And that, besides, the explication of this stone, being a task, which nothing could surmount but the most acute penetration joined with indefatigable patience, seemed in reality reserved for those who have given proofs of both in the highest degree, by reading and understanding the *Gazetteer*.

This answer satisfied every one but the objector, who with an obstinacy, not very uncommon, adhered to his own opinion, though he could not defend it; and not being able to make any reply, attempted to laugh away my argument, but found the rest of my friends so little disposed to jest upon this important question, that he was forced to restrain his mirth, and content himself with a sullen and contemptuous silence.

Another of my friends, whom I had assembled on this occasion, having owned the solidity of my answer to the

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first objection, offered a second, which in his opinion could not be so easily defeated.

56

“ I have observed, *says he*, that the essays in the *Gazetteer*, though written on very important subjects by the ablest hands which ambition can incite, friendship engage, or money procure, have never, though circulated through the kingdom with the utmost application, had any remarkable influence upon the people. I know many persons of no common capacity, that hold it sufficient to peruse these papers four times a year; and others who receive them regularly, and without looking upon them, treasure them under ground for the benefit of posterity. So that the inscription may, by being inserted there, sink once more into darkness and oblivion, instead of informing the age, and assisting our present ministry in the regulation of their measures.”

57

Another observed, that nothing was more unreasonable than my hope, that any remarks or elucidations would be drawn up by that fraternity, since their own employments do not allow them any leisure for such attempts. Every one knows that panegyric is in its own nature no easy task, and that to defend is much more difficult than to attack; consider then, *says he*, what industry, what assiduity it must require, to praise and vindicate a ministry like ours.

58

It was hinted by another, that an inscription which had no relation to any particular set of men amongst us, but was composed many ages before the parties, which now divide the nation, had a being, could not be so pro-

properly conveyed to the world by means of a paper, dedicated to political debates.

Another to whom I had communicated my own observations in a more private manner, and who had inserted some of his own arguments, declared it, as his opinion, that they were, though very controvertible and unsatisfactory, yet too valuable to be lost; and that though to insert the inscription in a paper of which such numbers are daily distributed at the expence of the public, would doubtless be very agreeable to the generous design of the author, yet he hoped that as all the students, either of politics or antiquities, would receive both pleasure and improvement from the dissertation, with which it is accompanied, none of them would regret to pay for so agreeable an entertainment. 59

It cannot be wondered that I have yielded at last to such weighty reasons, and such insinuating compliments, and chosen to gratify at once the inclinations of friends, and the vanity of an author. Yet I should think I had very imperfectly discharged my duty to my country, did I not warn all whom either interest or curiosity shall incite to the perusal of this treatise, not to lay any stress upon my explications. 60

How a more compleat and indisputable interpretation may be obtained, it is not easy to say. This will, I suppose, be readily granted, that it is not to be expected from any single hand, but from the joint enquiries and united labours of a numerous society of able men, instituted by authority, selected with great discernment and impartiality, and supported at the charge of the nation. 61

I am

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62

I am very far from apprehending that any proposal for the attainment of so desirable an end, will be rejected by this inquisitive and enlightened age, and shall therefore lay before the public the project which I have formed and matured by long consideration, for the institution of a society of commentators upon this inscription.

63

I humbly propose, that thirty of the most distinguished genius be chosen for this employment, half from the inns of court, and half from the army, and be incorporated into a society for five years, under the name of the SOCIETY OF COMMENTATORS.

64

That great undertakings can only be executed by a great number of hands, is too evident to require any proof; and I am afraid all that read this scheme will think that it is chiefly defective in this respect, and that when they reflect how many commissaries were thought necessary at *Seville*, and that even their negotiations entirely miscarried, probably for want of more associates, they will conclude that I have proposed impossibilities, and that the ends of the institution will be defeated by an injudicious and ill-timed frugality.

65

But if it be considered, how well the persons I recommend must have been qualified by their education and profession for the provinces assigned them, the objection will grow less weighty than it appears. It is well known to be the constant study of the lawyers to discover in acts of parliament, meanings which escaped the committees that drew them up, and the senates that passed them into laws, and to explain wills into a sense wholly contrary to the intention of the testator. How easily

easily may an adept in these admirable and useful arts, penetrate into the most hidden import of this prediction? A man accustomed to satisfy himself with the obvious and natural meaning of a sentence, does not easily shake off his habit; but a true-bred lawyer never contents himself with one sense, when there is another to be found.

Nor will the beneficial consequences of this scheme terminate in the explication of this monument; they will extend much farther: for the commentators having sharpened and improved their sagacity by this long and difficult course of study, will, when they return into public life, be of wonderful service to the government, in examining pamphlets, songs, and journals, and in drawing up informations, indictments, and instructions for special juries. They will be wonderfully fitted for the posts of Attorney and Solicitor General, but will excell above all, as licensers for the stage.

The Gentlemen of the army will equally adorn the province to which I have assigned them, of setting the discoveries and sentiments of their associates in a clear and agreeable light. The lawyers are well known not to be very happy in expressing their ideas, being for the most part able to make themselves understood by none but their own fraternity. But the geniusses of the army have sufficient opportunities, by their free access to the levee and the toilet, their constant attendance on balls and assemblies, and that abundant leisure which they enjoy beyond any other body of men, to acquaint themselves with every new word and prevailing mode of expression,

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pression, and to attain the utmost nicety and most polished prettiness of language.

68 It will be necessary, that during their attendance upon the society, they be exempt from any obligation to appear on Hyde-Park; and that upon no emergency, however pressing, they be called away from their studies, unless the nation be in immediate danger by an insurrection of weavers, colliers, or smugglers.

69 There may not perhaps be found in the army such a number of men, who have ever condescended to pass through the labours and irksome forms of education in use among the lower classes of people, or submitted to learn the mercantile and plebeian arts of writing and reading. I must own, that though I entirely agree with the notions of the uselessness of any such trivial accomplishments in the military profession, and of their inconsistency with more valuable attainments; though I am convinced, that a man who can read and write becomes, at least, a very disagreeable companion to his brother soldiers, if he does not absolutely shun their acquaintance; that he is apt to imbibe from his books odd notions of liberty and independency, and even sometimes of morality and virtue, utterly inconsistent with the desirable character of a pretty Gentleman. Though writing frequently stains the whitest finger, and reading has a natural tendency to cloud the aspect, and depress that airy and thoughtless vivacity, which is the distinguishing characteristic of a modern warrior; yet on this single occasion, I cannot but heartily wish, that by a strict search there may be discovered in the army fifteen men who can write and read.

I know

I know that the knowledge of the alphabet is so disreputable among these Gentlemen, that those who have by ill fortune formerly been taught it, have partly forgot it by disuse, and partly concealed it from the world, to avoid the railleries and insults to which their education might make them liable: I propose therefore, that all the officers of the army may be examined upon oath one by one, and that if fifteen cannot be selected who are at present so qualified, the deficiency may be supplied out of those who having once learned to read, may perhaps, with the assistance of a master, in a short time refresh their memories.

It may be thought, at the first sight of this proposal, that it might not be improper to assign to every commentator a reader and secretary; but it may be easily conceived, that not only the public might murmur at such an addition of expence, but that by the unfaithfulness or negligence of their servants, the discoveries of the society may be carried to foreign courts, and made use of to the disadvantage of our own country.

For the residence of this society, I cannot think any place more proper than *Greenwich-Hospital*, in which they may have thirty apartments fitted up for them, that they may make their observations in private, and meet once a day in the painted hall to compare them.

If the establishment of this society be thought a matter of too much importance to be deferred till the new buildings are finished, it will be necessary to make room for their reception, by the expulsion of such of the seamen as have no pretensions to the settlement there, but fractured limbs, loss of eyes, or decayed constitutions, who

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have

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have lately been admitted in such numbers, that it is now scarce possible to accommodate a nobleman's groom, footman, or postilion, in a manner suitable to the dignity of his profession, and the original design of the foundation.

74 The situation of *Greenwich* will naturally dispose them to reflection and study; - and particular caution ought to be used, lest any interruption be suffered to dissipate their attention, or distract their meditations: for this reason, all visits and letters from ladies are strictly to be prohibited; and if any of the members shall be detected with a lap-dog, pack of cards, box of dice, draught-table, snuff-box, or looking-glass, he shall for the first offence be confined for three months to water-gruel, and for the second be expelled the society.

75 Nothing now remains, but that an estimate be made of the expences necessary for carrying on this noble and generous design. The salary to be allowed each professor cannot be less than 2000*l.* a year, which is indeed more than the regular stipend of a commissioner of excise; but it must be remembered, that the commentators have a much more difficult and important employment, and can expect their salaries but for the short space of five years; whereas a commissioner (unless he imprudently suffers himself to be carried away by a whimsical tenderness for his country) has an establishment for life.

76 It will be necessary to allow the society in general 30,000*l.* yearly for the support of the public table, and 40,000*l.* for secret service.

Thus

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Thus will the ministry have a fair prospect of obtaining the full sense and import of the prediction; without burthening the public with more than 650,000*l.* which may be paid out of the sinking fund; or if it be not thought proper to violate that sacred treasure by converting any part of it to uses not primarily intended, may be easily raised by a general poll-tax, or excise upon bread. 77

Having now compleated my scheme, a scheme calculated for the public benefit, without regard to any party, I entreat all sects, factions, and distinctions of men among us, to lay aside for a time their party-feuds and petty animosities; and by a warm concurrence on this urgent occasion, teach posterity to sacrifice every private interest to the advantage of their country. 78

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A COMPLEAT
VINDICATION
OF THE
Licenfers of the STAGE,

FROM THE
MALICIOUS AND SCANDALOUS ASPERSIONS
OF

MR. BROOKE,
AUTHOR OF GUSTAVUS VASA.

WITH A
PROPOSAL for making the Office of LICENSER
more Extensive and Effectual.

By an IMPARTIAL HAND.

[First printed in the Year MDCCXXXIX.

A COMPLEAT
VINDICATION
OF THE
LICENSERS OF THE STAGE, &c,

IT is generally agreed by the writers of all parties, that few crimes are equal, in their degree of guilt, to that of calumniating a good and gentle, or defending a wicked and oppressive administration.

It is therefore with the utmost satisfaction of mind, that I reflect how often I have employed my pen in vindication of the present ministry, and their dependents and adherents, how often I have detected the specious fallacies of the advocates for independence, how often I have softened the obstinacy of patriotism, and how often triumphed over the clamour of opposition.

I have, indeed, observed but one set of men, upon whom all my arguments have been thrown away; which neither flattery can draw to compliance, nor threats reduce to submission; and who have, notwithstanding all expedients that either invention or experience could suggest,

suggest, continued to exert their abilities in a vigorous and constant opposition of all our measures.

The unaccountable behaviour of these men, the enthusiastic resolution with which, after a hundred successive defeats, they still renewed their attacks; the spirit with which they continued to repeat their arguments in the Senate, though they found a majority determined to condemn them; and the inflexibility with which they rejected all offers of places and preferments, at last excited my curiosity so far, that I applied myself to enquire with great diligence into the real motives of their conduct, and to discover what principle it was that had force to inspire such unextinguishable zeal, and to animate such unwearied efforts.

For this reason I attempted to cultivate a nearer acquaintance with some of the chiefs of that party, and imagined that it would be necessary for some time to dissemble my sentiments, that I might learn theirs.

Diffimulation to a true politician is not difficult, and therefore I readily assumed the character of a profelyte; but found, that their principle of action was no other, than that which they make no scruple of avowing in the most public manner, notwithstanding the contempt and ridicule to which it every day exposes them, and the loss of those honours and profits from which it excludes them.

This wild passion, or principle, is a kind of fanaticism by which they distinguish those of their own party, and which they look upon as a certain indication of a great mind. *We* have no name for it *at court*, but among

themselves they term it by a kind of *cant-phrase*, A REGARD FOR POSTERITY.

This passion seems to predominate in all their conduct, to regulate every action of their lives, and sentiment of their minds; I have heard L—— and P——*, when they have made a vigorous opposition, or blasted the blossom of some ministerial scheme, cry out, in the height of their exultations, *This will deserve the thanks of posterity!* And when their adversaries, as it much more frequently falls out, have out-numbered and overthrown them, they will say with an air of revenge, and a kind of gloomy triumph, *Posterity will curse you for this.*

It is common among men under the influence of any kind of phrenzy, to believe that all the world has the same odd notions that disorder their own imaginations. Did these unhappy men, these deluded patriots, know how little we are concerned about posterity, they would never attempt to fright us with their curses, or tempt us to a neglect of our own interest by a prospect of their gratitude.

But so strong is their infatuation, that they seem to have forgotten even the primary law of self-preservation; for they sacrifice without scruple every flattering hope, every darling enjoyment, and every satisfaction of life, to this *ruling passion*, and appear in every step to consult not so much their own advantage, as that of *posterity*.

Strange delusion! that can confine all their thoughts to a race of men whom they neither know, nor can know; from whom nothing is to be feared, nor any

* Lyttelton and Pitt. E.

thing expected; who cannot even bribe a special jury, nor have so much as a single ribband to bestow.

This fondness for posterity is a kind of madness which at *Rome* was once almost epidemical, and infected even the women and the children. It reigned there till the entire destruction of *Carthage*; after which it began to be less general, and in a few years afterwards a remedy was discovered, by which it was almost entirely extinguished.

In *England* it never prevailed in any such degree: some few of the ancient Barons seem indeed to have been disordered by it; but the contagion has been for the most part timely checked, and our ladies have been generally free.

But there has been in every age a set of men much admired and revered, who have affected to be always talking of posterity, and have laid out their lives upon the composition of poems, for the sake of being applauded by this imaginary generation.

The present poets I reckon amongst the most inexorable enemies of our most excellent ministry, and much doubt whether any method will effect the cure of a distemper, which in this class of men may be termed not an accidental disease, but a defect in their original frame and constitution.

Mr. *Brooke*, a name I mention with all the detestation suitable to my character, could not forbear discovering this depravity of his mind in his very prologue, which is filled with sentiments so wild, and so much unheard of among those who frequent levees and courts, that I
much

much doubt, whether the zealous licenser proceeded any further in his examination of his performance.

He might easily perceive that a man,

Who bade his moral beam through every age,

was too much a bigot to exploded notions, to compose a play which he could license without manifest hazard of his office, a hazard which no man would incur untainted with the love of posterity.

We cannot therefore wonder that an author, wholly possessed by this passion, should vent his resentment for the licenser's just refusal, in virulent advertisements, insolent complaints, and scurrilous assertions of his rights and privileges, and proceed in defiance of authority to solicit a subscription.

This temper, which I have been describing, is almost always complicated with ideas of the high prerogatives of human nature, of a sacred unalienable birthright, which no man has conferred upon us, and which neither Kings can take, nor Senates give away; which we may justly assert whenever and by whomsoever it is attacked, and which, if ever it should happen to be lost, we may take the first opportunity to recover.

The natural consequence of these chimeras is contempt of authority, and an irreverence for any superiority but what is founded upon merit; and their notions of merit are very peculiar, for it is among them no great proof of merit to be wealthy and powerful, to wear a garter or a star, to command a regiment or a senate, to have the ear of the minister or of the king,

or

or to possess any of those virtues and excellencies, which among us entitle a man to little less than worship and prostration.

We may therefore easily conceive that Mr. *Brooke* ²¹ thought himself entitled to be importunate for a license, because, in his own opinion, he deserved one, and to complain thus loudly at the repulse he met with.

His complaints will have, I hope, but little weight ²² with the public; since the opinions of the sect in which he is enlisted are exposed, and shewn to be evidently and demonstrably opposite to that system of subordination and dependence, to which we are indebted for the present tranquillity of the nation, and that cheerfulness and readiness with which the two Houses concur in all our designs.

I shall, however, to silence him entirely, or at least ²³ to shew those of our party that he ought to be silent, consider singly every instance of hardship and oppression which he has dared to publish in the papers, and to publish in such a manner, that I hope no man will condemn me for want of candour in becoming an advocate for the ministry, if I can consider his advertisements as nothing less than AN APPEAL TO HIS COUNTRY.

Let me be forgiven if I cannot speak with temper ²⁴ of such insolence as this: is a man without title, pension, or place, to suspect the impartiality or the judgment of those who are entrusted with the administration of public affairs? Is he, when the law is not strictly observed in regard to him, to think himself aggrieved, to tell his sentiments in print, assert his claim to better usage, and fly for redress to another tribunal?

If

25 If such practices are permitted, I will not venture to foretel the effects of them; the ministry may soon be convinced, that such sufferers will find compassion, and that it is safer not to bear hard upon them, than to allow them to complain.

26 The power of licensing in general being firmly established by an Act of Parliament, our poet has not attempted to call in question, but contents himself with censuring the manner in which it has been executed; so that I am not now engaged to assert the licenser's authority, but to defend his conduct.

27 The poet seems to think himself aggrieved, because the licenser kept his tragedy in his hands one and twenty days, whereas the law allows him to detain it only fourteen.

28 Where will the insolence of the malecontents end? Or how are such unreasonable expectations possibly to be satisfied? Was it ever known that a man exalted into a high station, dismissed a suppliant in the time limited by law? Ought not Mr. *Brooke* to think himself happy that his play was not detained longer? If he had been kept a year in suspense, what redress could he have obtained? Let the poets remember, when they appear before the licenser, or his deputy, that they stand at the tribunal from which there is no appeal permitted, and where nothing will so well become them as reverence and submission.

29 Mr. *Brooke* mentions in his preface his knowledge of the laws of his own country: had he extended his enquiries to the civil law, he could have found a full justification

fication of the licenser's conduct, *Boni judicis est ampliare suam auctoritatem.*

If then it be *the business of a good judge to enlarge his authority*, was it not in the licenser the utmost clemency and forbearance, to extend fourteen days only to twenty-one?

I suppose this great man's inclination to perform at least this duty of a good judge, is not questioned by any, either of his friends or enemies. I may therefore venture to hope, that he will extend his power by proper degrees, and that I shall live to see a malecontent writer earnestly soliciting for the copy of a play, which he had delivered to the licenser twenty years before.

I waited, says he, often on the licenser, and with the utmost importunity entreated an answer. Let Mr. Brooke consider, whether that importunity was not a sufficient reason for the disappointment. Let him reflect how much more decent it had been to have waited the leisure of a great man, than to have pressed upon him with repeated petitions, and to have intruded upon those precious moments which he has dedicated to the service of his country.

Mr. Brooke was doubtless led into this improper manner of acting, by an erroneous notion that the grant of a license was not an act of favour, but of justice; a mistake into which he could not have fallen, but from a supine inattention to the design of the statute, which was only to bring poets into subjection and dependence, not to encourage good writers, but to discourage all.

There lies no obligation upon the licenser to grant his sanction to a play, however excellent; nor can Mr.

Brooke

Brooke demand any reparation, whatever applause his performance may meet with.

Another grievance is, that the licenser assigned no reason for his refusal. This is a higher strain of insolence than any of the former. Is it for a poet to demand a licenser's reason for his proceedings? Is he not rather to acquiesce in the decision of authority, and conclude that there are reasons which he cannot comprehend?

Unhappy would it be for men in power, were they always obliged to publish the motives of their conduct. What is power but the liberty of acting without being accountable? The advocates for the Licensing Act have alledged, that the Lord Chamberlain has always had authority to prohibit the representation of a play for just reasons. Why then did we call in all our force to procure an Act of Parliament? Was it to enable him to do what he has always done? to confirm an authority which no man attempted to impair, or pretended to dispute? No certainly: our intention was to invest him with new privileges, and to empower him to do that *without* reason, which *with* reason he could do before.

We have found by long experience, that to lie under a necessity of assigning reasons, is very troublesome, and that many an excellent design has miscarried by the loss of time spent unnecessarily in examining reasons.

Always to call for reasons, and always to reject them, shews a strange degree of perverseness; yet such is the daily behaviour of our adversaries, who have never yet been satisfied with any reasons that have been offered by us.

They

They have made it their practice to demand once a year the reasons for which we maintain a standing army.

One year we told them that it was necessary, because all the nations round us were involved in war; this had no effect upon them, and therefore resolving to do our utmost for their satisfaction, we told them the next year that it was necessary, because all the nations round us were at peace.

This reason finding no better reception than the other, we had recourse to our apprehensions of an invasion from the Pretender, of an insurrection in favour of *gin*, and of a general disaffection among the people.

But as they continue still impenetrable, and oblige us still to assign our annual reasons, we shall spare no endeavours to procure such as may be more satisfactory than any of the former.

The reason we once gave for building barracks was for fear of the plague, and we intend next year to propose the augmentation of our troops for fear of a famine.

The committee, by which the Act for licensing the stage was drawn up, had too long known the inconvenience of giving reasons, and were too well acquainted with the characters of great men, to lay the Lord Chamberlain, or his deputy, under any such tormenting obligation.

Yet lest Mr. *Brooke* should imagine that a license was refused him without just reasons, I shall condescend to treat him with more regard than he can reasonably expect, and point out such sentiments as not only justly exposed him to that refusal, but would have provoked any

any ministry less merciful than the present to have inflicted some heavier penalties upon him.

46 His prologue is filled with such insinuations as no friend of our excellent government can read without indignation and abhorrence, and cannot but be owned to be a proper introduction to such scenes, as seem designed to kindle in the audience a flame of opposition, patriotism, public spirit, and independency; that spirit which we have so long endeavoured to suppress, and which cannot be revived without the entire subversion of all our schemes.

47 This seditious poet, not content with making an open attack upon us, by declaring in plain terms, that he looks upon freedom as the only source of public happiness and national security, has endeavoured with subtlety, equal to his malice, to make us suspicious of our firmest friends, to infect our consultations with distrust, and to ruin us by disuniting us.

48 This indeed will not be easily effected; an union founded upon interest and cemented by dependence is naturally lasting: but confederacies which owe their rise to virtue or mere conformity of sentiments, are quickly dissolved, since no individual has any thing either to hope or fear for himself, and public spirit is generally too weak to combat with private passions.

49 The poet has, however, attempted to weaken our combination by an artful and sly assertion, which, if suffered to remain unconfuted, may operate by degrees upon our minds in the days of leisure and retirement which are now approaching, and perhaps fill us with such

such surmises as may at least very much embarrass our affairs.

The law by which the *Swedes* justified their opposition to the encroachments of the King of *Denmark*, he not only calls

Great Nature's law, the law within the breast,

But proceeds to tell us that it is

— *Stamp'd by Heaven upon th' unletter'd mind.*

By which he evidently intends to insinuate a maxim which is, I hope, as false as it is pernicious, that men are naturally fond of liberty till those unborn ideas and desires are effaced by literature.

The author, if he be not a man mew'd up in his solitary study, and entirely unacquainted with the conduct of the present ministry, must know that we have hitherto acted upon different principles. We have always regarded *letters* as great obstructions to our scheme of subordination, and have therefore, when we have heard of any man remarkably *unlettered*, carefully noted him down as the most proper person for any employments of trust or honour, and considered him as a man in whom we could safely repose our most important secrets.

From among the uneducated and *unlettered* we have chosen not only our ambassadors and other negotiators, but even our journalists and pamphleteers; nor have we

E

had

had any reason to change our measures, or to repent of the confidence which we have placed in ignorance.

53

Are we now therefore to be told, that this law is

Stamp'd upon th' unletter'd mind?

Are we to suspect our placemen, our pensioners, our generals, our lawyers, our best friends in both houses, all our adherents among the atheists and infidels, and our very Gazetteers, clerks and court-pages, as friends to independency? Doubtless this is the tendency of his assertion, but we have known them too long to be thus imposed upon, the *unlettered* have been our warmest and most constant defenders, nor have we omitted any thing to deserve their favour, but have always endeavoured to raise their reputation, extend their influence, and increase their number.

54

In his first act he abounds with sentiments very inconsistent with the ends for which the power of licensing was granted; to enumerate them all would be to transcribe a great part of his play, a task which I shall very willingly leave to others, who, though true friends to the government, are not inflamed with zeal so fiery and impatient as mine, and therefore do not feel the same emotions of rage and resentment at the sight of those infamous passages, in which venality and dependance are represented as mean in themselves, and productive of remorse and infelicity.

55

One line which ought, in my opinion, to be erased from every copy by a special act of parliament, is mentioned

tioned by *Anderson*, as pronounced by the hero in his sleep,

O Sweden, O my country, yet I'll save thee.

This line I have reason to believe thrown out as a kind of a watch-word for the opposing faction, who, when they meet in their seditious assemblies, have been observed to lay their hands upon their breasts, and cry out with great vehemence of accent,

O B———*, O my country, yet I'll save thee.

In the second scene he endeavours to fix epithets of contempt upon those passions and desires which have been always found most useful to the ministry, and most opposite to the spirit of independency.

*Base fear, the laziness of lust, gross appetites,
These are the ladders and the growling foot-stool
From whence the tyrant rises———
Secure and scepter'd in the soul's servility
He has debauched the genius of our country
And rides triumphant, while her captive sons
Await his nod, the silken slaves of pleasure,
Or fetter'd in their fears.———*

Thus is that decent submission to our superiors, and that proper awe of authority which we are taught in courts, termed *base fear* and the *servility of the soul*.

* Britain. E.

E 2

Thus

Thus are those gayeties and enjoyments, those elegant amusements, and lulling pleasures which the followers of a court are blessed with, as the just rewards of their attendance and submission, degraded to *lust*, *grossness*, and *debauchery*. The author ought to be told, that courts are not to be mentioned with so little ceremony, and that though gallantries and amours are admitted there, it is almost treason to suppose them infected with debauchery or lust.

57 It is observable, that when this hateful writer has conceived any thought of an uncommon malignity, a thought which tends in a more particular manner to excite the love of liberty, animate the heat of patriotism, or degrade the majesty of kings, he takes care to put it in the mouth of his hero, that it may be more forcibly impressed upon his reader. Thus *Gustavus*, speaking of his tatters, cries out.

———*Yes, my Arvida,
Beyond the sweeping of the proudest train
That shades a monarch's beel, I prize these weeds,
For they are sacred to my country's freedom.*

Here this abandoned son of liberty makes a full discovery of his execrable principles, the tatters of *Gustavus*, the usual dress of the assertors of these doctrines, are of more divinity, because they are sacred to freedom, than the sumptuous and magnificent robes of regality itself. Such sentiments are truly detestable, nor could any thing be an aggravation of the author's guilt, except his ludicrous manner of mentioning a monarch.

The

The *beel* of a monarch, or even the print of his *beel*, is a thing too venerable and sacred to be treated with such levity, and placed in contrast with rags and poverty. He, that will speak contemptuously of the *beel* of a monarch, will, whenever he can with security, speak contemptuously of his head.

These are the most glaring passages which have occurred, in the perusal of the first pages; my indignation will not suffer me to proceed farther, and I think much better of the licenser, than to believe he went so far.

In the few remarks which I have set down, the reader will easily observe, that I have strained no expression beyond its natural import, and have divested myself of all heat, partiality, and prejudice.

So far therefore is Mr. *Brooke* from having received any hard or unwarrantable treatment, that the licenser has only acted in pursuance of that law to which he owes his power, a law, which every admirer of the administration must own to be very necessary, and to have produced very salutary effects.

I am indeed surprised, that this great office is not drawn out into a longer series of deputations, since it might afford a gainful and reputable employment to a great number of the friends of the government; and I should think, instead of having immediate recourse to the deputy-licenser himself, it might be sufficient honour for any poet, except the laureat, to stand bare-headed in the presence of the deputy of the deputy's deputy in the nineteenth subordination.

63 Such a number cannot but be thought necessary, if we take into consideration the great work of drawing up an index *expurgatorius* to all the old plays; which is, I hope, already undertaken, or if it has been hitherto unhappily neglected, I take this opportunity to recommend.

64 The productions of our old poets are crouded with passages very unfit for the ears of an *English* audience, and which cannot be pronounced without irritating the minds of the people.

65 This censure I do not confine to those lines in which liberty, natural equality, wicked ministers, deluded kings, mean arts of negociation, venal senates, mercenary troops, oppressive officers, servile and exorbitant taxes, universal corruption, the luxuries of a court, the miseries of the people, the decline of trade, or the happiness of independency are directly mentioned. These are such glaring passages as cannot be suffered to pass without the most supine and criminal negligence. I hope the vigilance of the licensers will extend to all such speeches and soliloquies as tend to recommend the pleasures of virtue, the tranquillity of an uncorrupted head, and the satisfactions of conscious innocence; for though such strokes as these do not appear to a common eye to threaten any danger to the government, yet it is well known to more penetrating observers, that they have such consequences as cannot be too diligently obviated, or too cautiously avoided.

66 A man, who becomes once enamoured of the charms of virtue, is apt to be very little concerned about the acquisition of wealth or titles, and is therefore not easily induced

induced to act in a manner contrary to his real sentiments, or to vote at the word of command; by contracting his desires, and regulating his appetites, he wants much less than other men, and every one versed in the arts of government can tell, that men are more easily influenced in proportion as they are more necessitous.

This is not the only reason why virtue should not receive too much countenance from a licensed stage; her admirers and followers are not only naturally independent, but learn such an uniform and consistent manner of speaking and acting, that they frequently by the mere force of artless honesty surmount all the obstacles which subtlety and politics can throw in their way, and obtain their ends in spite of the most profound and sagacious ministry. 67

Such then are the passages to be expunged by the licensers: in many parts indeed the speeches will be imperfect, and the action appear not regularly conducted, but the Poet Laureat may easily supply these vacuities, by inserting some of his own verses in praise of wealth, luxury, and venality. 68

But alas! all those pernicious sentiments which we shall banish from the stage, will be vented from the press, and more studiously read because they are prohibited? 69

I cannot but earnestly implore the friends of the government to leave no art untried by which we may hope to succeed in our design of extending the power of the licenser to the press, and of making it criminal to publish any thing without an *imprimatur*. 70

How much would this single law lighten the mighty burden of state affairs? With how much security might our ministers enjoy their honours, their places, their reputations, and their admirers, could they once suppress those malicious invectives which are at present so industriously propagated, and so eagerly read, could they hinder any arguments but their own from coming to the ears of the people, and stop effectually the voice of cavil and enquiry.

72 I cannot but indulge myself a little while by dwelling on this pleasing scene, and imagining those *balcony-days*, in which no politics shall be read but those of the *Gazetteer*, nor any poetry but that of the Laureat; when we shall hear of nothing but the successful negotiations of our ministers, and the great actions of——

73 How much happier would this state be, than those perpetual jealousies and contentions which are inseparable from knowledge and liberty, and which have for many years kept this nation in perpetual commotions.

74 But these are times rather to be wished for than expected, for such is the nature of our unquiet countrymen, that if they are not admitted to the knowledge of affairs, they are always suspecting their governors of designs prejudicial to their interest; they have not the least notion of the pleasing tranquillity of ignorance, nor can be brought to imagine, that they are kept in the dark, lest too much light should hurt their eyes. They have long claimed a right of directing their superiors, and are exasperated at the least mention of secrets of state.

75 This temper makes them very readily encourage any writer or printer, who, at the hazard of his life or fortune,

ture, will give them any information; and while this humour prevails, there never will be wanting some daring adventurer who will write in defence of liberty, and some zealous or avaricious printer who will disperse his papers.

It has never yet been found that any power, however vigilant or despotic, has been able to prevent the publication of seditious journals, ballads, essays, and dissertations; *Considerations on the present state of affairs, and Enquiries into the conduct of the administration* *.

Yet I must confess, that considering the success with which the present ministry has hitherto proceeded in their attempts to drive out of the world the old prejudices of patriotism and public spirit, I cannot but entertain some hopes, that what has been so often attempted by their predecessors, is reserved to be accomplished by their superior abilities.

If I might presume to advise them upon this great affair, I should dissuade them from any direct attempt upon the liberty of the press, which is the darling of the common people, and therefore cannot be attacked without immediate danger. They may proceed by a more sure and silent way, and attain the desired end without noise, detraction, or oppression.

There are scattered over this kingdom several little seminaries, in which the lower ranks of people, and the younger sons of our nobility and gentry are taught, from their earliest infancy the pernicious arts of spelling and reading, which they afterwards continue to practise, very

* Titles of pamphlets published at this juncture. The former by Lord Lyttleton. See his works, vol. I. E.

much to the disturbance of their own quiet, and the interruption of ministerial measures.

These seminaries may, by an act of parliament, be at once suppressed, and that our posterity be deprived of all means of reviving this corrupt method of education, it may be made felony to teach to read without a license from the Lord Chamberlain.

This expedient, which I hope will be carefully concealed from the vulgar, must infallibly answer the great end proposed by it, and set the power of the court not only above the insults of the poets, but in a short time above the necessity of providing against them. The licenser having his authority thus extended, will in time enjoy the title and the salary without the trouble of exercising his power, and the nation will rest at length in ignorance and peace.

MISCELLANEOUS
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
TRAGEDY
OF
MACBETH:
WITH
REMARKS

On SIR THOMAS HANMER'S Edition of SHAKSPEARE.

To which is affixed,

Proposals for a New Edition of SHAKSPEARE, with a Specimen.

First printed in the Year MDCCXLV.

" —As to all those things which have been published under the
" titles of *Essays, Remarks, Observations, &c.* on *Shakspeare*, (if
" you except some critical notes on *Macbeth*, given as a specimen
" of a projected edition, and written as appears by a man of parts
" and genius) the rest are absolutely below a serious notice."
Warburton's Preface to Shakspeare. E.

NOTE I.

ACT I. SCENE I.

Enter three Witches.

IN order to make a true estimate of the abilities and merit of a writer, it is always necessary to examine the genius of his age, and the opinions of his contemporaries. A poet who should now make the whole action of his tragedy depend upon enchantment, and produce the chief events by the assistance of supernatural agents, would be censured as transgressing the bounds of probability, he would be banished from the theatre to the nursery, and condemned to write Fairy Tales instead of Tragedies; but a survey of the notions that prevailed at the time when this play was written, will prove that *Shakspeare* was in no danger of such censures, since he only turned the system that was then universally admitted to his advantage, and was far from overburthening the credulity of his audience.

The reality of witchcraft or enchantment, which, though not strictly the same, are confounded in this play, has in all ages and countries been credited by the common

mon people, and in most by the learned themselves. These phantoms have indeed appeared more frequently, in proportion as the darkness of ignorance has been more gross; but it cannot be shown, that the brightest gleams of knowledge have at any time been sufficient to drive them out of the world. The time in which this kind of credulity was at its height, seems to have been that of the holy war, in which the Christians imputed all their defeats to enchantment or diabolical opposition, as they ascribed their success to the assistance of their military saints, and the learned Mr. *Warburton* appears to believe (*Suppl. to the Introduction to Don Quixote*) that the first accounts of enchantments were brought into this part of the world by those who returned from their eastern expeditions. But there is always some distance between the birth and maturity of folly as of wickedness: this opinion had long existed, though perhaps the application of it had in no foregoing age been so frequent, nor the reception so general. *Olympiodorus*, in *Photius's* Extracts, tells us of one *Libanius*, who practised this kind of military magic, and having promised *χωρίς ὀπλῶν κατὰ βαρβάρων ἐνεργεῖν*, to perform great things against the Barbarians without soldiers, was, at the instances of the empress *Placidia*, put to death, when he was about to have given proofs of his abilities. The empress shewed some kindness in her anger by cutting him off at a time so convenient for his reputation.

But a more remarkable proof of the antiquity of this notion may be found in *St. Chrysostom's* book *de Sacerdotio*, which exhibits a scene of enchantments not exceeded by any romance of the middle age; he supposes
a spec-

a spectator, overlooking a field of battle, attended by one that points out all the various objects of horror, the engines of destruction, and the arts of slaughter. Δεικνύτο δὲ ἐνὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ πηλομένους ἵππους διὰ τινος μαγικαίας, καὶ ὀπλίτας δὲ αἰρήθ' φερομένους, καὶ πάσης γυνήϊας δύναμιν καὶ ἰδίαν. *Let him then proceed to show him in the opposite armies horses flying by enchantment, armed men transported through the air, and every power and form of magic.* Whether St. Chrysostom believed that such performances were really to be seen in a day of battle, or only endeavoured to enliven his description, by adopting the notions of the vulgar, it is equally certain, that such notions were in his time received, and that therefore they were not imported from the *Saracens* in a later age; the wars with the *Saracens*, however, gave occasion to their propagation, not only as bigotry naturally discovers prodigies, but as the scene of action was removed to a greater distance, and distance either of time or place is sufficient to reconcile weak minds to wonderful relations.

4 The reformation did not immediately arrive at its meridian, and though day was gradually encreasing upon us, the goblins of witchcraft still continued to hover in the twilight. In the time of *Queen Elizabeth* was the remarkable trial of the witches of *Warbois*, whose conviction is still commemorated in an annual Sermon at *Huntingdon*. But in the reign of *King James*, in which this tragedy was written, many circumstances concurred to propagate and confirm this opinion. The king, who was much celebrated for his knowledge, had, before his arrival in *England*, not only examined in person a woman

woman accused of witchcraft, but had given a very formal account of the practices and illusions of evil spirits, the compacts of witches, the ceremonies used by them, the manner of detecting them, and the justice of punishing them, in his dialogues of *Dæmonologie*, written in the *Scottish* dialect, and published at *Edinburgh*. This book was, soon after his accession, reprinted at *London*, and as the ready way to gain King *James's* favour was to flatter his speculations, the system of *Dæmonologie* was immediately adopted by all who desired either to gain preferment or not to lose it. Thus the doctrine of witchcraft was very powerfully inculcated, and as the greatest part of mankind have no other reason for their opinions than that they are in fashion, it cannot be doubted but this persuasion made a rapid progress, since vanity and credulity co-operated in its favour, and it had a tendency to free cowardice from reproach. The infection soon reached the parliament, who, in the first year of King *James*, made a law, by which it was enacted, *ch. xii.* That “if any person shall use any invocation or conjuration of any evil or wicked spirit; 2. Or shall “consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed or “reward any evil or cursed spirit to or for any intent or “purpose; 3. Or take up any dead man, woman or “child out of the grave,—or the skin, bone, or any “part of the dead person, to be employed or used in “any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, charm, or enchantment; 4. Or shall use, practise or exercise any sort “of witchcraft, sorcery, charm, or enchantment; 5. “Whereby any person shall be destroyed, killed, wasted, “consumed, pined, or lamed in any part of the body; 6. That

“ 6. That every such person, being convicted, shall suffer death.”

Thus, in the time of *Shakspeare*, was the doctrine of witchcraft at once established by law and by the fashion, and it became not only unpolite, but criminal, to doubt it, and as prodigies are always seen in proportion as they are expected, witches were every day discovered, and multiplied so fast in some places, that bishop *Hall* mentions a village in *Lancashire*, where their number was greater than that of the houses. The Jesuits and Sec-taries took advantage of this universal error, and endeavoured to promote the interest of their parties by pretended cures of persons afflicted by evil spirits, but they were detected and exposed by the clergy of the established church.

Upon this general infatuation *Shakspeare* might be easily allowed to found a play, especially since he has followed with great exactness such histories as were then thought true ; nor can it be doubted that the scenes of enchantment, however they may now be ridiculed, were both by himself and his audience thought awful and affecting.

N O T E II.

S C E N E II.

—THE merciless *Macdonel*,—from the Western Isles

Of *Kerns* and *Gallow-glasses* was supply'd,
And fortune on his damned *quarry* smiling ;
Shew'd like a rebel's whore.

Kerns

TRAGEDY OF MACBETH. 65

Kerns are light-armed, and *Gallow-glasses* heavy-armed soldiers. The word *quarry* has no sense that is properly applicable in this place, and therefore it is necessary to read

And fortune on his damned quarrel smiling.

Quarrel was formerly used for *cause*, or for *the occasion of a quarrel*, and is to be found in that sense in *Hollingshead's* account of the story of *Macbeth*, who, upon the creation of the prince of *Cumberland*, thought, says the historian, that he had *a just quarrel* to endeavour after the crown. The sense therefore is *fortune smiling on his execrable cause*, &c.

NOTE III.

IF I say sooth, I must report they were
As cannons overcharged with double cracks,
So they redoubled strokes upon the foe :

Mr. *Theobald* has endeavoured to improve the sense of this passage by altering the punctuation thus :

————They *well*
As cannons overcharg'd, with double cracks
So they redoubled strokes————

He declares, with some degree of exultation, that he has no idea of a *cannon charged with double cracks* ; but
Furely

surely the great author will not gain much by an alteration which makes him say of a hero, that he *redoubles strokes with double cracks*, an expression not more loudly to be applauded, or more easily pardoned than that which is rejected in its favour. That *a cannon is charged with thunder* or *with double thunders* may be written, not only without nonsense, but with elegance, and nothing else is here meant by *cracks*, which in the time of this writer was a word of such emphasis and dignity, that in this play he terms the general dissolution of nature the *crack of doom*.

There are among Mr. *Theobald's* alterations others which I do not approve, though I do not always censure them; for some of his amendments are so excellent, that, even when he has failed, he ought to be treated with indulgence and respect.

N O T E IV.

King. **B**UT who comes here?

Mal. The worthy *Thane* of *Rosse*.

Lenox. What haste looks thro' his eyes?

So should he look, that *seems* to speak things strange.

The meaning of this passage as it now stands is, *so should he look, that looks as if he told things strange*. But *Rosse* neither yet told strange things, nor could look as if he told them; *Lenox* only conjectured from his air that he had strange things to tell, and therefore undoubtedly said

—What

TRAGEDY OF MACBETH. 67

—What haste looks thro' his eyes?
So should he look, that *seems* to speak things strange.

He looks like one that is big with something of importance
a metaphor so natural, that it is every day used in common discourse.

N O T E V.

S C E N E III.

Thunder. Enter the three Witches.

1st Witch. **W**HERE hast thou been sister?

2d Witch. Killing swine.

3d Witch. Sister, where thou?

1st Witch. A sailor's wife had chesnuts in her lap,
And mouncht, and mouncht, and mouncht. Give me,
quoth I.

(1) Aroint thee, witch, the rump-fed ronyon cries.
Her husband's to *Aleppo* gone, master o' th' *Tiger*:
But in a sieve I'll thither sail,
And like a rat without a tail,
I'll do—I'll do—and I'll do.

2d Witch. I'll give thee a wind.

1st Witch. Thou art kind.

3d Witch. And I another.

1st Witch. I myself have all the other,
And the (2) very points they blow,
All the quarters that they know,
I' th' Ship-man's card——

I will drain him dry as hay ;
 Sleep shall neither night nor day
 Hang upon his pent-house lid ;
 He shall live a man (3) forbid ;
 Weary sev'n-nights nine times nine,
 Shall he dwindle, peak and pine :
 Tho' his bark cannot be lost,
 Yet it shall be tempest-toft.
 Look what I have.

2d Witch. Shew me, shew me.

(1) Aroint thee, witch,——

In one of the folio editions the reading is *anoint thee*, in a sense very consistent with the common accounts of witches, who are related to perform many supernatural acts by the means of unguents, and particularly to fly through the air to the places where they meet at their hellish festivals. In this sense *anoint thee, witch*, will mean, *away, witch, to your infernal assembly*. This reading I was inclined to favour, because I had met with the word *aroint* in no other place ; till looking into *Hearne's* collections, I found it in a very old drawing, that he has published, in which *St. Patrick* is represented visiting hell, and putting the devils into great confusion by his presence, of whom one that is driving the damned before him with a prong, has a label issuing out from his mouth with these words *out out aroingt*, of which the last is evidently the same with *aroint*, and used in the same sense as in this passage.

(2) And

(2) And the *very* points they blow.

As the word *very* is here of no other use than to fill up the verse, it is likely that *Shakspeare* wrote *various*, which might be easily mistaken for *very*, being either negligently read, hastily pronounced, or imperfectly heard.

(3) He shall live a man *forbid*.

Mr. *Theobald* has very justly explained *forbid* by *accursed*, but without giving any reason of his interpretation. To *bid* is originally *to pray*, as in this *Saxon* fragment.

De is Wis þæt bið 7 bote, &c.

He is wise that *prays* & improves.

As to *forbid* therefore implies to *prohibit*, in opposition to the word *bid* in its present sense, it signifies by the same kind of opposition to *curse*, when it is derived from the same word in its primitive meaning.

NOTE VI.

SCENE V.

THE incongruity of all the passages in which the *Thane of Cawdor* is mentioned is very remarkable; in the second scene the *Thanes of Ross* and *Angus* bring the king an account of the battle, and inform him that *Norway*

Assisted by that most disloyal traytor
The Thane of *Cawdor*, 'gan a dismal conflict.

It appears that *Cawdor* was taken prisoner, for the king says in the same scene,

—— Go, pronounce his death,
And with his former title greet *Macbeth*.

Yet though *Cawdor* was thus taken by *Macbeth*, in arms against his king, when *Macbeth* is saluted, in the fourth scene, *Thane of Cawdor*, by the Weird Sisters, he asks,

How of *Cawdor*? the *Thane of Cawdor* lives,
A prosp'rous gentleman.——

And in the next line considers the promises, that he should be *Cawdor* and *King*, as equally unlikely to be accomplished. How can *Macbeth* be ignorant of the state of the Thane of *Cawdor*, whom he has just defeated and taken prisoner, or call him a *prosperous Gentleman* who has forfeited his title and life by open rebellion? Or why should he wonder that the title of the rebel whom he has overthrown should be conferred upon him? He cannot be supposed to dissemble his knowledge of the condition of *Cawdor*, because he enquires with all the ardour of curiosity, and the vehemence of sudden astonishment; and because nobody is present but *Banquo*, who had an equal part in the battle, and was equally acquainted with *Cawdor*'s treason. However, in the next scene, his ignorance still continues; and, when *Rosse* and
Angus

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Angus present him from the king with his new title, he cries out

—— The *Thane* of *Cawdor* lives.

Why do you dress me in his borrowed robes?

Rosse and *Angus*, who were the messengers that in the second scene informed the king of the assistance given by *Cawdor* to the invader, having lost, as well as *Macbeth*, all memory of what they had so lately seen and related, make this answer,

—— Whether he was

Combin'd with *Norway*, or did line the rebels
With hidden help and vantage, or with both
He labour'd in his country's wreck, I know not.

Neither *Rosse* knew what he had just reported, nor *Macbeth* what he had just done. This seems not to be one of the faults that are to be imputed to the transcribers, since, though the inconsistency of *Rosse* and *Angus* might be removed, by supposing that their names are erroneously inserted, and that only *Rosse* brought the account of the battle, and only *Angus* was sent to compliment *Macbeth*, yet the forgetfulness of *Macbeth* cannot be palliated, since what he says could not have been spoken by any other.

N O T E VII.

THE thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical,
Shakes so my single state of man,——

The *single state of man* seems to be used by *Shakspeare* for an *individual*, in opposition to a *commonwealth*, or *conjunct body of men*.

NOTE VIII.

Macbeth. **C**OME what come may,
Time and the hour runs thro' the roughest
 day.

I suppose every reader is disgusted at the tautology in this passage, *time and the hour*, and will therefore willingly believe that *Shakspeare* wrote it thus,

—— Come what come may,
Time ! on !—the hour runs thro' the roughest day.

Macbeth is deliberating upon the events which are to befall him ; but finding no satisfaction from his own thoughts, he grows impatient of reflection, and resolves to wait the close without harrassing himself with conjectures,

—— Come what come may.

But to shorten the pain of suspense, he calls upon time in the usual stile of ardent desire, to quicken his motion,

Time ! on ! ——

He then comforts himself with the reflection that all his perplexity must have an end,

—— The hour runs thro' the roughest day.

This

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This conjecture is supported by the passage in the letter to his lady, in which he says, *They referr'd me to the coming on of time with Hail King that shall be.*

NOTE IX.

SCENE VI.

Malcolm. — **N**Othing in his life
Became him like the leaving it.

He died,

As one that had been studied in his death,
To throw away the dearest thing he *ow'd*,
As 'twere a careless trifle.

As the word *ow'd* affords here no sense but such as is forced and unnatural, it cannot be doubted that it was originally written, *The dearest thing he own'd*; a reading which needs neither defence nor explication.

NOTE X.

King. — **T**HERE's no art,
To find the mind's construction in the
face.

The *construction of the mind* is, I believe, a phrase peculiar to *Shakspeare*; it implies the *frame* or *disposition* of the mind, by which it is determined to good or ill.

NOTE

NOTE XI.

Macbeth. **T**HE service, and the loyalty I owe,
In doing it, pays itself. Your Highness'
part

Is to receive our duties, and our duties
Are to your throne and state, children and servants,
Which do but what they should, in doing *every thing*
Safe tow'rds your love and honour.

Of the last line of this speech, which is certainly as it is now read, unintelligible, an emendation has been attempted, which Mr. *Warburton* and Mr. *Theobald* have admitted as the true reading.

— Our duties

Are to your throne and state, children and servants,
Which do but what they should, in doing every thing
Fiefs to your love and honour.

My esteem of these critics, inclines me to believe, that they cannot be much pleased with the expressions *Fiefs to love*, or *Fiefs to honour*; and that they have proposed this alteration rather because no other occurred to them, than because they approved it. I shall therefore propose a bolder change, perhaps with no better success, but *sua cuique placet*. I read thus,

— Our duties

Are to your throne and state, children and servants,
Which

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Which do but what they should, in doing *nothing*
Save tow'rd *your love and honour*.

We do but perform our duty when we contract all
 our views to your service, when we act with *no other*
 principle than regard to *your love and honour*.

It is probable that this passage was first corrupted by
 writing *safe* for *save*, and the lines then stood thus,

—Doing nothing
 Safe tow'rd your love and honour.

Which the next transcriber observing to be wrong, and
 yet not being able to discover the real fault, altered to
 the present reading.

N O T E XII.

S C E N E VII.

—THOU'DST have, great *Glamis*,
 That which cries, "thus thou must do if
 thou have it,
 " And that, &c.

As the object of *Macbeth's* desire is here introduced
 speaking of itself it is necessary to read,

—Thou'dst have, great *Glamis*,
 That which cries, "thus thou must do if thou have *me*."

N O T E

NOTE XIII.

—**H**IE thee hither,
 That I may pour my spirits in thine ear,
 And chastise with the valour of my tongue
 All that impedes thee from the golden round,
 That fate and metaphysical aid do *seem*
 To have thee crown'd withal.

For *seem* the sense evidently directs us to read *seek*.
 The crown to which fate destines thee, and which pre-
 ternatural agents *endeavour* to bestow upon thee. The
golden round is the *diadem*.

NOTE XIV.

Lady Macbeth. — **C**OME all you spirits
 That tend on *mortal thoughts*,
 unsex me here,
 And fill me from the crown to th' toe, top-full
 Of direct cruelty; make thick my blood,
 Stop up th' access and passage to remorse,
 That no compunctious visitings of nature
 Shake my fell purpose, nor *keep peace* between
 Th' effect and it.

Mortal thoughts.

This expression signifies not *the thoughts of mortals*, but
murderous, deadly, or destructive designs. So in act 5th.

Hold fast the *mortal sword*.

And

And in another place,

With twenty *mortal* murthers.

——Nor keep pace between
Th' effect and it.——

The intent of Lady *Macbeth*, evidently is to wish that no womanish tenderness, or conscientious remorse may hinder her purpose from proceeding to effect, but neither this nor indeed any other sense is expressed by the present reading, and therefore it cannot be doubted that *Shakspeare* wrote differently, perhaps thus.

That no compunctious visitings of nature
Shake my fell purpose, nor *keep pace* between
Th' effect and it.

To *keep pace between* may signify to *pass between*, to *intervene*. *Pace* is on many occasions a favourite of *Shakspeare*. This phrase is indeed not usual in this sense, but was it not its novelty that gave occasion to the present corruption?

N O T E XV.

S C E N E VIII.

King. **T**HIS castle hath a pleasant *seat*; the air
Nimbly and sweetly recommends itself
Unto our gentle senses.

Banquo. This guest of summer,
The temple-haunting Martlet, does approve,

By

By his lov'd mansionary, that heaven's breath
 Smells wooingly here. No jutting frieze,
 Buttrice, nor coigne of vantage, but this bird
 Hath made his pendent bed, and procreant cradle :
 Where they most breed and haunt, I have observ'd
 The air is delicate.

In this short scene, I propose a slight alteration to be made, by substituting *site* for *seat*, as the antient word for *situation* ; and *sense* for *senses* as more agreeable to the measure ; for which reason likewise I have endeavoured to adjust this passage,

——Heaven's breath
 Smells wooingly here. No jutting frieze,
 By changing the punctuation and adding a syllable thus,

———Heaven's breath
 Smells wooingly. Here is no jutting frieze.

Those who have perused books printed at the time of the first editions of *Shakspeare* know, that greater alterations than these are necessary almost in every page, even where it is not to be doubted that the copy was correct.

N O T E XVI.

S C E N E X.

THE arguments by which Lady *Macbeth* persuades her husband to commit the murder, afford a proof of *Shakspeare's* knowledge of human nature. She urges the

the excellence and dignity of courage, a glittering idea which has dazzled mankind from age to age, and animated sometimes the housebreaker, and sometimes the conqueror; but this sophism *Macbeth* has for ever destroyed by distinguishing true from false fortitude, in a line and a half; of which it may almost be said, that they ought to bestow immortality on the author, though all his other productions had been lost.

I dare do all that may become a man,
Who dares do more is none.

This topic, which has been always employed with too much success, is used in this scene with peculiar propriety, to a soldier by a woman. Courage is the distinguishing virtue of a soldier, and the reproach of cowardice cannot be borne by any man from a woman, without great impatience.

She then urges the oaths by which he had bound himself to murder *Duncan*, another art of sophistry by which men have sometimes deluded their consciences, and persuaded themselves that what would be criminal in others is virtuous in them; this argument *Shakspeare*, whose plan obliged him to make *Macbeth* yield, has not confuted, though he might easily have shown that a former obligation could not be vacated by a latter.

NOTE XVII.

LETTING *I dare not*, wait upon *I would*,
Like the poor cat i'th' adage.

The

The adage alluded to is, *The cat loves fish, but daret
not wet her foot,*

Catus amat pisces, sed non vult tingere plantas.

N O T E XVIII.

WILL I with wine and wassel so convince.

To convince is in *Shakspeare* to *over-power* or *subdue*,
as in this play,

——— Their malady convinces
The great assay of art.

N O T E XIX.

—— **W**HO shall bear the guilt
Of our great quell.

Quell is *murder*, *manquellers* being in the old language
the term for which *murderers* is now used.

N O T E XX.

A C T II. S C E N E II.

—— **N**OW o'er one half the world
(1) *Nature seems dead*, and wicked dreams
abuse

The curtain'd sleep; now witchcraft celebrates
Pale *Hecat's* offerings: and wither'd murder,

(Alarum'd

(Alarum'd by his sentinel, the wolf,
Whose howl's his watch) thus with his stealthy pace,
With (2) Tarquin's ravishing strides, tow'rd his design
Moves like a ghost—Thou found and firm-set earth,
Hear not my steps, which way they walk, for fear
Thy very stones prate of my where-about,
And (3) take the present horror from the time,
That now suits with it.—

templation. He that peruses *Shakspeare*, looks round alarmed, and starts to find himself alone. One is the night of a lover, the other that of a murderer.

(2) ——— *Witber'd murder,*
 ——— *Thus with his stealthy pace,*
With Tarquin's ravishing sides tow'rd his design,
Moves like a ghost.——

This was the reading of this passage in all the editions before that of Mr. *Pope*, who for *sides*, inserted in the text *strides*, which Mr. *Theobald* has tacitly copied from him, though a more proper alteration might perhaps have been made. A *ravishing stride* is an action of violence, impetuosity, and tumult, like that of a savage rushing on his prey; whereas the poet is here attempting to exhibit an image of secrecy and caution, of anxious circumspection and guilty timidity, the *stealthy pace* of a *ravisher* creeping into the chamber of a virgin, and of an assassin approaching the bed of him whom he proposes to murder, without awaking him; these he describes as *moving like ghosts*, whose progression is so different from *strides*, that it has been in all ages represented to be, as *Milton* expresses it,

Smooth sliding without step.

This hemistick will afford the true reading of this place, which is, I think, to be corrected thus :

——— *And wither'd murder,*
 ——— *Thus with his stealthy pace,*
With Tarquin ravishing, slides tow'rd his design,
Moves like a ghost.

TARQUIN

TARQUIN is in this place the general name of a ravisher, and the sense is, Now is the time in which every one is a-sleep, but those who are employed in wickedness, the witch who is sacrificing to *Hecate*, and the ravisher, and the murderer, who, like me, are stealing upon their prey.

When the reading is thus adjusted, he wishes with great propriety in the following lines, that the earth may not bear *his steps*.

(3) And take the present horror from the time
That now suits with it.

I believe every one that has attentively read this dreadful soliloquy is disappointed at the conclusion, which, if not wholly unintelligible, is, at least, obscure, nor can be explained into any sense worthy of the author. I shall therefore propose a slight alteration.

——Thou sound and firm-set earth,
Hear not my steps, which way they walk, for fear
Thy very stones prate of my where-about,
And *talk*—the present horror of the time!——
That now suits with it.——

Macbeth has, in the foregoing lines, disturbed his imagination by enumerating all the terrors of the night, at length he is wrought up to a degree of frenzy, that makes him afraid of some supernatural discovery of his design, and calls out to the stones not to betray him, not to declare where he walks, nor *to talk*.—As he is going to say of what, he discovers the absurdity of his

suspicion and pauses, but is again o'erwhelmed by his guilt, and concludes, that such are the horrors of the present night, that the stones may be expected to cry out against him.

That now suits with it.

He observes in a subsequent passage, that on such occasions *stones have been known to move*. It is now a very just and strong picture of a man about to commit a deliberate murder under the strongest convictions of the wickedness of his design.

N O T E XXI.

S C E N E IV.

Lenox. **T**HE night has been unruly; where we lay
Our chimnies were blown down. And, as
they say,

Lamentings heard i'th' air, strange screams of death,
And prophecying with accents terrible
Of dire combustions, and confused events,
New-hatch'd to the woful time.

The obscure bird clamour'd the live-long night,
Some say the earth was fev'rous and did shake.

These lines I think should be rather regulated thus:

——Prophecying with accents terrible,
Of dire combustions and confused events.
New-hatch'd to th' woful time, the obscure bird
Clamour'd the live-long night. Some say the earth was
fev'rous and did shake.

A po

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A prophecy of an event *new hatch'd*, seems to be a prophecy of an event *past*. The term *new-hatch'd* is properly applicable to a *bird*, and that birds of ill omen should be *new-hatch'd* to the woful time, is very consistent with the rest of the prodigies here mentioned, and with the universal disorder into which nature is described as thrown, by the perpetration of this horrid murder.

N O T E XXII.

—UP! Up! and see
The great doom's image *Malcom Banquo*,
As from your graves rise up.—

The second line might have been so easily completed, that it cannot be supposed to have been left imperfect by the author, who probably wrote,

—*Malcolm! Banquo! rise!*
As from your graves rise up.—

Many other emendations of the same kind might be made, without any greater deviation from the printed copies, than is found in each of them from the rest.

N O T E XXIII.

Macbeth.—H E R E lay *Duncan*,
His silver skin laced with his golden
blood,

And his gash'd stabs look'd like a breach in nature,
For ruin's wasteful entrance; there the murderers

Steep'd in the colours of their trade, their daggers
Unmannerly breech'd with gore :————

An *unmannerly dagger* and a *dagger breeched*, or as in some editions *breach'd with gore*, are expressions not easily to be understood, nor can it be imagined that *Shakspeare* would reproach the murderer of his king only with *want of manners*. There are undoubtedly two faults in this passage, which I have endeavoured to take away by reading,

————*Daggers*

Urmanly drench'd with gore.——

*I saw drench'd with the king's blood the fatal daggers,
 not only instruments of murder but evidences of cowardice.*

Each of these words might easily be confounded with that which I have substituted for it by a hand not exact, a casual blot, or a negligent inspection.

Mr. *Pope* has endeavoured to improve one of these lines, by substituting *goary blood* for *golden blood*, but it may easily be admitted, that he who could on such an occasion talk of *lacing the silver skin* would *lace it* with *golden blood*. No amendment can be made to this line, of which every word is equally faulty, but by a general blot.

It is not improbable, that *Shakspeare* put these forced and unnatural metaphors into the mouth of *Macbeth*, as a mark of artifice and dissimulation, to show the difference between the studied language of hypocrisy, and the natural outcries of sudden passion. This whole speech considered in this light, is a remarkable instance of judgment, as it consists entirely of antitheses and metaphors.

NOTE

N O T E XXIV.

A C T III. S C E N E II.

Macbeth. — OUR fears in *Banquo*
Stick deep, and in his royalty of
nature

Reigns that which would be fear'd. 'Tis much he dares,
And to that dauntless temper of his mind,
He hath a wisdom that doth guide his valour
To act in safety. There is none but he,
Whose being I do fear: and under him,
My genius is rebuk'd; (1) *as it is said*
Anthony's was by Cesar. He chid the sisters,
When first they put the name of king upon me,
And bade them speak to him; then prophet-like,
They hail'd him father to a line of kings,
Upon my head they plac'd a fruitless crown,
And put a barren sceptre in my gripe,
Thence to be wrench'd with an unlineal hand,
No son of mine succeeding. If 'tis so,
For *Banquo's* issue have I 'fil'd my mind,
For them the gracious *Duncan* have I murther'd,
Put rancours in the vessel of my peace
Only for them, and mine eternal jewel
Given to the (2) common enemy of man,
To make them kings,—the seed of *Banquo* kings.
Rather than so, come fate into the list,
(3) And champion me to th' utterance ———

(1) — As it is said,
Anthony's was by *Cæsar*.

Though I would not often assume the critic's privilege, of being confident where certainty cannot be obtained, nor indulge myself too far in departing from the established reading; yet I cannot but propose the rejection of this passage, which I believe was an insertion of some player, that having so much learning as to discover to what *Shakspeare* alluded, was not willing that his audience should be less knowing than himself, and has therefore weakened the author's sense by the intrusion of a remote and useless image into a speech bursting from a man wholly possessed with his own present condition, and therefore not at leisure to explain his own allusions to himself. If these words are taken away, by which not only the thought but the numbers are injured, the lines of *Shakspeare* close together without any traces of a breach.

My genius is rebuk'd. He chid the sisters.

(2) — The common enemy of man.

It is always an entertainment to an inquisitive reader, to trace a sentiment to its original source, and therefore, though the term *enemy of man* applied to the devil is in itself natural and obvious, yet some may be pleased with being informed, that *Shakspeare* probably borrowed it from the first lines of the *Destruction of Troy*, a book which he is known to have read.

That

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That this remark may not appear too trivial, I shall take occasion from it to point out a beautiful passage of *Milton*, evidently copied from a book of no greater authority: in describing the gates of hell, book ii. v. 879. he says,

——— On a sudden open fly,
With impetuous recoil and jarring sound,
Th' infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harsh thunder.

In the history of *Don Bellianis*, when one of the knights approaches, as I remember, the castle of *Brandezar*, the gates are said to open *grating harsh thunder upon their brazen hinges*.

(3) ——— Come fate into the lists,
And champion me to th' utterance.———

This passage will be best explained by translating it into the language from whence the only word of difficulty in it is borrowed. *Que la destinée se rende en lice, et qu' elle me donne un défi a l'outrance*. A challenge or a combat *a l'outrance*, to extremity, was a fixed term in the law of arms, used when the combatants engaged with an *odium internecinum*, an intention to destroy each other, in opposition to trials of skill at festivals, or on other occasions, where the contest was only for reputation or a prize. The sense therefore is, *Let fate, that has fore-doom'd the exaltation of the sons of Banquo, enter the lists against me, with the utmost animosity, in defence of its own decrees,*
which

which I will endeavour to invalidate, whatever be the danger.

N O T E XXV.

Macbeth.

AY, in the catalogue, ye go for men,
As hounds and grey-hounds, mungrels,
spaniels, curs,

Shoughs, water-ruggs, and demy-wolves are clept
All by the name of dogs.

Though this is not the most sparkling passage in the play, and though the name of a dog is of no great importance, yet it may not be improper to remark, that there is no such species of dogs as *shoughs* mentioned by *Caius de Canibus Britannicis*, or any other writer that has fallen into my hands, nor is the word to be found in any dictionary which I have examined. I therefore imagined that it is falsely printed for *scouths*, a kind of slow hound bred in the southern parts of *England*, but was informed by a lady, that it is more probably used, either by mistake, or according to the orthography of that time, for *shocks*.

N O T E XXVI.

Macbeth.

— **I**N this hour at most,
I will advise you where to plant your-
selves,

Acquaint you with the perfect spy o' th' time,
The moment on't, for't must be done to-night,
And something from the palace :—

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What is meant by *the spy of the time*, it will be found difficult to explain; and therefore sense will be cheaply gained by a slight alteration.—*Macbeth* is assuring the assassins that they shall not want directions to find *Banquo*, and therefore says,

I will ———

Acquaint you with a perfect spy o' th' time.

Accordingly a third murderer joins them afterwards at the place of action.

Perfect is well instructed, or well informed, as in this play,

Though in your state of honour I am *perfect*.

Though I am well acquainted with your quality and rank.

N O T E XXVII.

S C E N E IV.

2d Murderer. **H**E needs not to mistrust, since he delivers

Our offices and what we have to do,
To the direction just.

Mr. Theobald has endeavoured unsuccessfully to amend this passage, in which nothing is faulty but the punctuation. The meaning of this abrupt dialogue is this. The *perfect spy*, mentioned by *Macbeth* in the foregoing scene has,

has, before they enter upon the stage, given them the directions which were promised at the time of their agreement; and therefore one of the murderers observes, that, *since he has given them such exact information, he needs not doubt of their performance.* Then by way of exhortation to his associates he cries out

—— To the direction just.

Now nothing remains but that we conform exactly to Macbeth's directions.

N O T E XXVIII.

S C E N E V.

Macbeth. **Y**OU know your own degrees, fit down:
At first and last the hearty welcome.

As this passage stands, not only the numbers are very imperfect, but the sense, if any can be found, weak and contemptible. The numbers will be improved by reading

—— Sit down at first,
And last a hearty welcome.

But for *last* should then be written *next*. I believe the true reading is

You know your own degrees, fit down.—To first
And last the hearty welcome.

All of whatever degree, from the highest to the lowest, may be assured that their visit is well received.

N O T E XXIX.

Macbeth. — **T**HERE's blood upon thy face.
[*To the murderer aside at the door.*

Murderer. 'Tis Banquo's then.

Macbeth. 'Tis better *thee* without, than *he* within.

The sense apparently requires that this passage should be read thus :

'Tis better *thee* without, than *him* within.

That is, *I am more pleased that the blood of Banquo should be on thy face, than in his body.*

N O T E XXX.

Lady Macbeth. **P**ROPER stuff!

This is the very painting of your
fear; [aside to Macb.

This is the air-drawn dagger which you said
Led you to *Duncan*. Oh, these flaws and starts,
Impostures to true fear, would well become
A woman's story at a winter's fire,
Authoriz'd by her grandam. Shame itself!—
Why do you make such faces? When all's done
You look but on a stool.

As

As *starts* can neither with propriety nor sense be called *impostures to true fear*, something else was undoubtedly intended by the author, who perhaps wrote

—— Those flaws and starts,
Impostures true to fear, would well become
A woman's story, ——

These symptoms of terror and amazement might better become *impostures true only to fear*, might become *a coward at the recital of such falsehoods as no man could credit whose understanding was not weakened by his terrors; tales, told by a woman over a fire on the authority of her grandam.*

NOTE XXXI.

Macbeth. —— LOVE and health to all !
Then I'll sit down : give me some
wine, fill full —

I drink to th' general joy of the whole table,
And to our dear friend *Banquo* whom we miss,
Would he were here ! to all, and him, we thirst.
And all to all. ——

Though this passage is, as it now stands, capable of more meanings than one, none of them are very satisfactory ; and therefore I am inclined to read it thus :

—— To all, and him, we thirst,
And hail to all.

Macbeth,

Macbeth, being about to salute his company with a bumper, declares that he includes *Banquo*, though absent, in this act of kindness, and wishes *health* to all. *Hail* or *heil* for *health* was in such continual use among the good-fellows of antient times, that a drinker was called a *was-beiler*, or a *wisher of health*, and the liquor was termed *was-beil*, because *health* was so often *wished* over it. Thus in the lines of *Harvil* the Monk,

Jamque vagante scypho, distincto gutture was-heil
Ingeminant was-heil: labor est plus perdere vini
Quam sitis. ———

These words were afterwards corrupted into *wassail* and *wassailer*.

N O T E XXXII.

Macbeth. CAN such things be,
 And overcome us like a summer's cloud
 Without our special wonder? You make me strange
 Even to the disposition that *I owe*,
 When now I think you can behold such sights,
 And keep the natural ruby of your cheek,
 When mine is blanched with fear.

This passage, as it now stands, is unintelligible, but may be restored to sense by a very slight alteration,

———— You make me strange
 Ev'n to the disposition that I *know*.

Though

Though I had before seen many instances of your courage, yet it now appears in a degree altogether new. So that my long acquaintance with your disposition does not hinder me from that astonishment which novelty produces.

NOTE XXXIII.

IT will have blood, they say blood will have blood,
 Stones have been known to move, and trees to speak,
 Augurs, that understood relations, have
 By magpies, and by choughs, and rooks brought forth
 The secret'st man of blood.—

In this passage the first line loses much of its force by the present punctuation. *Macbeth* having considered the prodigy which has just appeared, infers justly from it, that the death of *Duncan* cannot pass unpunished,

It will have blood,——

Then after a short pause, declares it as the general observation of mankind, that murderers cannot escape.

——*They say, blood will have blood.*

Murderers, when they have practised all human means of security, are detected by supernatural directions.

Augurs, that understand relations, &c.

By the word *relation* is understood the *connection* of effects with causes; to *understand relations* as an *augur* is to know how those things *relate to* each other which have no visible combination or dependence.

NOTE

N O T E XXXIV.

S C E N E VII.

Enter Lenox and another Lord.

AS this tragedy like the rest of *Shakspeare's* is perhaps overstocked with personages, it is not easy to assign a reason, why a nameless character should be introduced here, since nothing is said that might not with equal propriety have been put into the mouth of any other disaffected man. I believe, therefore, that in the original copy, it was written with a very common form of contraction, *Lenox* and *An.* for which the transcriber instead of *Lenox* and *Angus*, set down *Lenox* and *another Lord*. The author had indeed been more indebted to the transcriber's fidelity and diligence, had he committed no errors of greater importance.

N O T E XXXV.

A C T IV. S C E N E I.

AS this is the chief scene of enchantment in the play, it is proper in this place to observe, with how much judgment *Shakspeare* has selected all the circumstances of his infernal ceremonies, and how exactly he has conformed to common opinions and traditions.

Thrice the brinded cat hath mew'd.

The usual form in which familiar spirits are reported to converse with witches, is that of a cat. A witch,
H who

who was tried about half a century before the time of *Shakspeare*, had a cat named *Rutterkin*, as the spirit of one of those witches was *Grimalkin*; and when any mischief was to be done, she used to bid *Rutterkin* go and fly, but once when she would have sent *Rutterkin* to torment a daughter of the countess of *Rutland*, instead of going or flying, he only cried *mew*, from which she discovered that the lady was out of his power, the power of witches being not universal, but limited as *Shakspeare* has taken care to inculcate.

Though his bark cannot be lost,
Yet it shall be tempest toft.

The common afflictions which the malice of witches produced were melancholy, fits, and loss of flesh, which are threatened by one of *Shakspeare's* witches.

Weary sev'n nights nine times nine
Shall he dwindle, peak, and pine.

It was likewise their practice to destroy the cattle of their neighbours, and the farmers have to this day many ceremonies to secure their cows and other cattle from witchcraft; but they seem to have been most suspected of malice against swine. *Shakspeare* has accordingly made one of his witches declare that she has been killing swine, and Dr. *Harsenet* observes, that about that time, a *swine* could not be ill of the measles, nor a girl of the fullens, but some old woman was charged with witchcraft.

Toad, that under the cold stone
Days and nights has forty one

Swelter'd

Swelter'd venom sleeping got,
Boil thou first i'th' charmed pot.

Toads have likewise long lain under the reproach of being by some means accessary to witchcraft, for which reason *Shakspeare*, in the first scene of this play, calls one of the spirits *padocke* or *toad*, and now takes care to put a toad first into the pot. When *Vaninus* was seized at *Thoulouse*, there was found at his lodgings *ingens bufo vitro inclusus*, a great toad shut in a vial, upon which those that prosecuted him *veneficium exprobrabant*, charged him, I suppose, with witchcraft.

Fillet of a fenny snake
In the cauldron boil and bake;
Eye of neut, and toe of frog;—
For a charm, &c.

The propriety of these ingredients may be known by consulting the books *de Viribus Animalium* and *de Mirabilibus Mundi*, ascribed to *Albertus Magnus*, in which the reader, who has time and credulity, may discover very wonderful secrets.

Finger of birth-strangled babe,
Ditch-deliver'd by a drab;—

It has been already mentioned in the law against witches, that they are supposed to take up dead bodies to use in enchantments, which was confessed by the woman whom King *James* examined, and who had of a dead body, that was divided in one of their assemblies, two fingers for her share. It is observable that *Shak-*

speare, on this great occasion which involves the fate of a king, multiplies all the circumstances of horror. The babe whose finger is used, must be strangled in its birth, the grease must not only be human, but must have dropped from a gibbet, the gibbet of a murderer, and even the sow whose blood is used must have offended nature by devouring her own farrow. These are touches of judgment and genius.

And now about the cauldron sing——

Blue spirits and white,
Black spirits and grey
Mingle, mingle, mingle,
You that mingle may.

-And in a former part,

Weird sisters hand in hand——
Thus do go about, about
Thrice to mine, and thrice to thine
And thrice again to make up nine.

These two passages I have brought together, because they both seem subject to the objection of too much levity for the solemnity of enchantment, and may both be shown, by one quotation from *Camden's* account of *Ireland*, to be founded upon a practice really observed by the uncivilised natives of that country. “ When
“ any one gets a fall, *says the informer of Camden*, he
“ starts up, and *turning three times to the right*, digs a
“ hole in the earth; for they imagine that there is a
“ spirit in the ground; and if he falls sick in two or
“ three

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“ three days, they send one of their women that is skilled
 “ in that way to the place, where she says, I call thee
 “ from the east, west, north, and south, from the groves,
 “ the woods, the rivers, and the fens, from the *fairies*
 “ *red, black, white.*” There was likewise a book writ-
 ten before the time of *Shakspeare*, describing, amongst
 other properties, the *colours* of spirits.

Many other circumstances might be particularised, in
 which *Shakspeare* has shewn his judgment and his know-
 ledge.

N O T E XXXVI.

S C E N E II.

Macbeth. **T**HOU art too like the spirit of *Banquo*,
 down,

Thy crown does (1) fear my eye-balls, and thy (2) *hair*,
 Thou other gold-bound brow, is like the first,
 A third is like the former. —

(1) The expression of *Macbeth*, that the *crown fears*
his eye-balls, is taken from the method formerly prac-
 tised of destroying the sight of captives or competitors,
 by holding a burning basin before the eye, which dried
 up its humidity.

(2) As *Macbeth* expected to see a train of kings, and
 was only enquiring from what race they would proceed,
 he could not be surpris'd that the *hair* of the second was
bound with gold like that of the first, he was offended only
 that the second resembled the first, as the first resembled
Banquo, and therefore said,

—And thy *air*,
Thou other gold-bound brow, is like the first.

NOTE XXXVII.

I WILL—give to the edge o'th' fword
His wife, his babes, and all unfortunate souls
That *trace him in his line*—no boasting like a fool,
This deed I'll do before my purpose cool.

Both the sense and measure of the third line which, as it rhymes, ought, according to the practice of this author, to be regular, are at present injured by two superfluous syllables which may easily be removed by reading,

—souls,
That trace his line—no boasting like a fool.

NOTE XXXVIII.

SCENE III.

Rosse. **D**EAREST cousin,
I pray you school yourself; but for your husband,
He's noble, wife, judicious, and best knows
The fits o'th'time, I dare not speak much farther,
But cruel are the times when we are traitors,
And do not know't ourselves: when we (1) *bold rumour*
From what we fear, yet know not what we fear,
But float upon a wild and violent sea
Each way, and (2) *move*. I'll take my leave of you;
Shall

Shall not be long but I'll be here again :
Things at the worst will cease, or else climb upwards
To what they were before : my pretty cousin,
Blessing upon you.

(1) ———When we hold rumour
From what we fear, yet know not what we fear,

The present reading seems to afford no sense ; and therefore some critical experiments may be properly tried upon it, though, the verses being without any connection, there is room for suspicion, that some intermediate lines are lost, and that the passage is therefore irretrievable. If it be supposed that the fault arises only from the corruption of some words, and that the traces of the true reading are still to be found, the passage may be changed thus :

———When we *bode ruin*
From what we fear, yet know not what we fear.

Or in a sense very applicable to the occasion of the conference,

———When the *bold running*
From what they fear, yet know not what they fear.

(2) But float upon a wild and violent sea
Each way, and move.

That he who *floats* upon a *rough sea* must *move* is evident, too evident for *Shakspeare* so emphatically to assert. The line therefore is to be written thus :

Each way, and move—I'll take my leave of you.

Rosse is about to proceed, but finding himself overpowered by his tenderness, breaks off abruptly, for which he makes a short apology and retires.

NOTE XXXIX.

SCENE IV.

Malcolm. **L**ET us seek out some desolate shade, and there

Weep our sad bosoms empty.

Macduff. Let us rather
Hold fast the mortal sword; and like good men,
Bestride our *downfal birth-doom*: each new morn,
New widows howl, new orphans cry, new sorrows
Strike heaven on the face, that it resounds
As if it felt with *Scotland*, and yell'd out
Like syllables of dolour.

He who can discover what is meant by him that earnestly exhorts him to *bestride* his *downfal birth-doom*, is at liberty to adhere to the present text; but those who are willing to confess that such counsel would to them be unintelligible, must endeavour to discover some reading less obscure. It is probable that *Shakspeare* wrote,

——I like good men,
Bestride our *downfaln birthdom*——

The allusion is to a man from whom something valuable is about to be taken by violence, and who, that he may defend it without encumbrance, lays it on the ground, and stands over it with his weapon in his hand.

Our

Our birthdom, or birthright, says he, lies on the ground, let us, like men who are to fight for what is dearest to them, not abandon it, but stand over it and defend it. This is a strong picture of obstinate resolution.

Birthdom for *birth-right* is formed by the same analogy with *masterdom* in this play, signifying the *privileges* or *rights* of a *master*.

Perhaps it might be *birth-dame* for *mother*; let us stand over our mother that lies bleeding on the ground.

NOTE XL.

Malcolm. **N**OW we'll together, and the *chance of*
goodness
Be like our warranted quarrel.

The *chance of goodness*, as it is commonly read, conveys no sense. If there be not some more important error in the passage, it should at least be pointed thus:

——And the chance, of goodness,
Be like our warranted quarrel.

That is, may the event be, of the goodness of heaven, [*pro justitia divina*] answerable to the cause.

But I am inclined to believe that *Shakspeare* wrote,

——And the chance, O goodness,
Be like our warranted quarrel.

This some of his transcribers wrote with a small *o*, which another imagined to mean *of*. If we adopt this reading, the sense will be, *and O thou sovereign goodness*,

to whom we now appeal, may our fortune answer to our cause.

NOTE XLI.

ACT V. SCENE III.

Macbeth. **B**RING me no more reports, let them
fly all,
Till *Birnam* wood remove to *Dunfinane*,
I cannot taint with fear. What's the boy *Malcolm*?
Was he not born of woman?——
—— Fly false *Thanes*,
And mingle with the *English* epicures.

In the first line of this speech, the proper pauses are not observed in the present editions.

Bring me no more reports—let them fly all—
Tell me not any more of desertions—Let all my subjects leave
me—I am safe till, &c.

The reproach of epicurism, on which Mr. Theobald has bestowed a note, is nothing more than a natural invective uttered by an inhabitant of a barren country, against those who have more opportunities of luxury.

NOTE XLII.

Macbeth. **I** Have liv'd long enough : my way of life
Is fall'n into the fear, the yellow leaf.

As

As there is no relation between the *way of life*, and *fallen into the fear*, I am inclined to think, that the *W* is only an *M* inverted, and that it was originally written, *My May of life*.

I am now passed from the spring to the autumn of my days, but I am without those comforts that should succeed the sprightliness of bloom, and support me in this melancholy season.

N O T E XLIII.

S C E N E IV.

Malcolm. 'TIS his main hope :
For where there is *advantage to be given*,
Both more or less have given him the revolt ;
And none serve with him but constrained things,
Whose hearts are absent too.

The impropriety of the expression *advantage to be given*, instead of *advantage given*, and the disagreeable repetition of the word *given* in the next line, incline me to read,

— Where there is *a vantage to be gone*,
Both more and less have given him the revolt.

Advantage or *vantage* in the time of *Shakspeare* signified *opportunity*.

More and less is the same with *greater and less*. So in the interpolated *Mandeville*, a book of that age, there is a chapter of *India the more and the less*.

NOTE

NOTE XLIV.

SCENE V.

Macbeth. — **W**herefore was that cry?
Seyton. The queen is dead.

Macbeth. She should (1) have died hereafter;
 There would have been a time for such a *word*,
 To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
 Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
 To the last syllable of (2) recorded time;
 And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
 The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
 Life's but a walking shadow. —

She should have died hereafter,
 There would have been a time for such a *word*.

This passage has very justly been suspected of being corrupt. It is not apparent for what *word* there would have been a *time*; and that there would or would not be a *time* for any *word*, seems not a consideration of importance sufficient to transport *Macbeth* into the following exclamation. I read therefore,

(1) She should have died hereafter,
 There would have been a time for—such a *world*!—
 To-morrow, &c.

It is a broken speech, in which only part of the thought is expressed, and may be paraphrased thus: *The queen*
 it

is dead. Macbeth. Her death should have been deferred to some more peaceful hour; had she lived longer, there would at length have been a time for the honours due to her as a queen, and that respect which I owe her for her fidelity and love. Such is the world—such is the condition of human life, that we always think to-morrow will be happier than to-day; but to-morrow and to-morrow steals over us un-enjoyed and unregarded, and we still linger in the same expectation to the moment appointed for our end. All these days, which have thus passed away, have sent multitudes of fools to the grave, who were engrossed by the same dream of future felicity, and, when life was departing from them, were like me reckoning on to-morrow.

(2) To the last syllable of recorded time.

Recorded time seems to signify the time fixed in the decrees of heaven for the period of life. The *record of futurity* is indeed no accurate expression, but as we only know transactions past or present, the language of men affords no term for the volumes of prescience, in which future events may be supposed to be written.

N O T E XLV.

Macbeth. IF thou speak'st false,
Upon the next tree shalt thou hang alive
Till famine cling thee: if thy speech be sooth,
I care not if thou dost for me as much—
I pull in resolution, and begin
To doubt th' equivocation of the fiend,

That

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That lies like truth. "Fear not till *Birnam* wood
Do come to *Dunfinane*," and now a wood
Comes toward *Dunfinane*.

I *pull* in resolution ———

Though this is the reading of all the editions, yet as
it is a phrase without either example, elegance or pro-
priety, it is surely better to read

I *pall* in resolution ———

*I languish in my constancy, my confidence begins to forsake
me.* It is scarcely necessary to observe how easily *pall*
might be changed into *pull* by a negligent writer, or
mistaken for it by an unskilful printer.

N O T E XLVI.

S C E N E VIII.

Seyward. **H**AD I as many sons as I have hairs,
I would not wish them to a fairer death:
And so his knell is knoll'd.

This incident is thus related from *Henry of Huntingdon*
by *Camden* in his *Remains*, from which our author proba-
bly copied it.

When *Seyward*, the martial Earl of *Northumberland*,
understood that his son, whom he had sent in service
against the *Scotchmen*, was slain, he demanded whether
his

his wound were in the fore part or hinder part of his body. When it was answered in the fore part, he replied, "I am right glad; neither wish I any other death to me or mine."

AFTER the foregoing pages were printed, the late edition of *Shakspeare*, ascribed to Sir Thomas Hammer, fell into my hands; and it was therefore convenient for me to delay the publication of my remarks, till I had examined whether they were not anticipated by similar observations, or precluded by better. I therefore read over this tragedy, but found that the editor's apprehension is of a cast so different from mine, that he appears to find no difficulty in most of those passages which I have represented as unintelligible, and has therefore past smoothly over them, without any attempt to alter or explain them.

Some of the lines with which I had been perplexed, have been indeed so fortunate as to attract his regard; and it is not without all the satisfaction which it is usual to express on such occasions, that I find an entire agreement between us in substituting [see Note II.] *quarrel* for *quarry*, and in explaining the adage of the *cat*, [Note XVII.] But this pleasure is, like most others, known only to be regretted; for I have the unhappiness to find no such conformity with regard to any other passage.

The line which I have endeavoured to amend, Note XI. is likewise attempted by the new editor, and is perhaps

perhaps the only passage in the play in which he has not ~~sub~~missively admitted the emendations of foregoing critics. Instead of the common reading,

— Doing every thing
Safe towards your love and honour,

he has published,

— Doing every thing
Shap'd towards your love and honour.

This alteration, which, like all the rest attempted by him, the reader is expected to admit, without any reason alleged in its defence, is, in my opinion, more plausible than that of Mr. *Theobald*; whether it is right, I am not to determine.

In the passage which I have altered in Note XL. an emendation is likewise attempted in the late edition, where, for

— And the chance *of* goodness
Be like our warranted quarrel,

is substituted —And the chance *in* goodness—whether with more or less elegance, dignity and propriety, than the reading which I have offered, I must again decline the province of deciding.

Most of the other emendations which he has endeavoured, whether with good or bad fortune, are too trivial to deserve mention. For surely the weapons of criticism
ought

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ought not to be blunted against an editor, who can imagine that he is restoring poetry, while he is amusing himself with alterations like these ;

For — *This is the serjeant,
Who like a good and hardy soldier fought ;*

— *This is the serjeant, who
Like a right good and hardy soldier fought.*

For — *Dismay'd not this
Our captains Macbeth and Banquo ?—Yes ;*

— *Dismay'd not this
Our captains brave Macbeth and Banquo ?—Yes.*

Such harmless industry may, surely, be forgiven, if it cannot be praised : may he therefore never want a monosyllable, who can use it with such wonderful dexterity.

Rumpatur quisquis rumpitur invidia !

The rest of this edition I have not read, but, from the little that I have seen, think it not dangerous to declare that, in my opinion, its pomp recommends it more than its accuracy. There is no distinction made between the antient reading, and the innovations of the editor ; there is no reason given for any of the alterations which are made ; the emendations of former critics are adopted without any acknowledgment, and few of the difficulties are removed which have hitherto embarrassed the readers of *Shakspeare*.

I

I would

I would not, however, be thought to insult the editor, nor to censure him with too much petulance, for having failed in little things, of whom I have been told, that he excells in greater. But I may, without indecency, observe, that no man should attempt to teach others what he has never learned himself; and that those who, like *Themistocles*, have studied the arts of policy, and *can teach a small state how to grow great*, should, like him, disdain to labour in trifles, and consider petty accomplishments as below their ambition.



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P R E F A C E *

T O A N

E S S A Y

O N

MILTON'S Use and Imitation of the Moderns
in his PARADISE LOST.

First published in the Year MDCCL.

IT is now more than half a century since the **PARADISE LOST** having broke through the clouds with which the unpopularity of the author, for a time, obscured it, has attracted the general admiration of mankind; who have endeavoured to compensate the error

“ It is to be hoped, nay, it is *expected*, that the elegant and nervous writer, whose judicious sentiments, and inimitable style points out the author of *Lauder's* Preface and Postscript, will no longer allow one to *plume himself with his feathers*, who appears

of their first neglect, by lavish praises and boundless veneration. There seems to have arisen a contest, among men of genius and literature, who should most advance its honour, or best distinguish its beauties. Some have revised editions, others have published commentaries, and all have endeavoured to make their particular studies, in some degree, subservient to this general emulation.

Among the inquiries to which this ardour of criticism has naturally given occasion, none is more obscure in itself, or more worthy of rational curiosity, than a retrospection of the progress of this mighty genius, in the construction of his work; a view of the fabric gradually rising, perhaps from small beginnings, till its foundation rests in the centre, and its turrets sparkle in the skies; to trace back the structure, through all its varieties, to the simplicity of its first plan; to find what was first projected, whence the scheme was taken, how it was improved, by what assistance it was executed, and from what stores the materials were collected, whether its founder dug them from the quarries of nature, or demolished other buildings to embellish his own.

This inquiry has been, indeed, not wholly neglected, nor, perhaps, prosecuted with the care and diligence that

"so little to have deserved his assistance; an assistance which I am
 "persuaded would never have been communicated, had there
 "been the least suspicion of those facts which I have been the in-
 "strument of conveying to the world in these sheets."—*Milton vindicated from the charge of plagiarism brought against him by Mr. Lauder, and Lauder himself convicted of several forgeries and gross impositions on the public. By John Douglas, M. A. Rector of Eaton Con-
 stantine, Salop, 8vo. 1751, p. 77.*

it deserves. Several critics have offered their conjectures; but none have much endeavoured to enforce or ascertain them. * MR. VOLTAIRE tells us, without proof, that the first hint of PARADISE LOST was taken from a farce called ADAMO, written by a player; † DR. PEARCE, that it was derived from an Italian tragedy, called IL PARADISO PERSO; and ‡ MR. PECK, that it was borrowed from a wild romance. Any of these conjectures may possibly be true, but, as they stand without sufficient proof, it must be granted, likewise, that they may all possibly be false; at least they cannot preclude any other opinion, which without argument has the same claim to credit, and may perhaps be shewn, by resistless evidence, to be better founded.

It is related, by steady and uncontroverted tradition, that the PARADISE LOST was at first a TRAGEDY, and, therefore, amongst tragedies, the first hint is properly to be sought. In a manuscript, published from MILTON's own hand, among a great number of subjects for tragedy, is ADAM UNPARADISED, or ADAM IN EXILE; and this, therefore, may be justly supposed the embryo of this great poem. As it is observable, that all these subjects had been treated by others, the manuscript can be supposed nothing more, than a memorial or catalogue

* Essay upon the Civil Wars of France, and also upon the Epic Poetry of the European Nations, from Homer down to Milton, 8vo. 1727, p. 103. E.

† Preface to a Review of the text of the Twelve Books of Milton's Paradise Lost, in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's Emendations are considered, 8vo. 1733. E.

‡ New Memoirs of Mr. John Milton. By Francis Peck, 4to. 1740, p. 52. E.

of plays, which, for some reason, the writer thought worthy of his attention. When, therefore, I had observed, that ADAM IN EXILE was named amongst them, I doubted not but, in finding the original of that tragedy, I should disclose the genuine source of PARADISE LOST. Nor was my expectation disappointed; for, having procured the ADAMUS EXUL of GROTIUS, I found, or imagined myself to find, the first draught, the PRIMA STAMINA of this wonderful poem.

Having thus traced the ORIGINAL of this work, I was naturally induced to continue my search to the COLLATERAL RELATIONS, which it might be supposed to have contracted, in its progress to MATURITY: and having, at least, persuaded my own judgment, that the search has not been intirely ineffectual, I now lay the result of my labours before the public; with full conviction, that in questions of this kind, the world cannot be MISTAKEN, at least cannot long continue in error.

I cannot avoid acknowledging the CANDOUR of the author of that excellent monthly book, the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, in giving admission to the specimens in favour of this argument; and his IMPARTIALITY in as freely inserting the several answers. I shall here subjoin some EXTRACTS from the xviith volume of this work, which I think suitable to my purpose. To which I have added, in order to obviate every pretence for cavil, a LIST of the authors quoted in the following ESSAY, with their respective DATES, in comparison with the DATE of PARADISE LOST.

P O S T S C R I P T.

WHEN this Essay was almost finished, the splendid Edition of PARADISE LOST, so long promised by the reverend Dr. *Newton*, fell into my hands; of which I had, however, so little use, that as it would be injustice to censure, it would be flattery to commend it: and I should have totally forborn the mention of a book that I have not read, had not one passage, at the conclusion of the life of MILTON, excited in me too much pity and indignation to be suppressed in silence.

“ Deborah, MILTON’s youngest daughter,” says the Editor, “ was married to Mr. Abraham Clarke, a weaver, in Spitalfields, and died in August 1727, in the 76th year of her age. She had ten children. Elizabeth, the youngest, was married to Mr. Thomas Foster, a weaver, in Spitalfields, and had seven children, who are all dead; and she herself is aged about sixty, and weak and infirm. She seemeth to be a good plain sensible woman, and has confirmed several particulars related above, and informed me of some others, which she had often heard from her mother.” These the Doctor enumerates, and then adds, “ In all probability MILTON’s whole family will be extinct with her,

“ and he can live only in his writings. And such is the
“ caprice of fortune, this grand-daughter of a man,
“ who will be an everlasting glory to the nation, has
“ now for some years, with her husband, kept a little
“ chandler’s or grocer’s shop, for their subsistence, lately
“ at the lower Holloway, in the road between High-
“ gate and London, and at present in Cock-lane, not
“ far from Shoreditch church.”

That this relation is true cannot be questioned: but, surely, the honour of letters, the dignity of sacred poetry, the spirit of the English nation, and the glory of human nature, require—that it should be true no longer. —In an age, in which statues are erected to the honour of this great writer, in which his effigy has been diffused on medals, and his work propagated by translations, and illustrated by commentaries; in an age, which amidst all its vices, and all its follies, has not become infamous for want of charity: it may be, surely, allowed to hope, that the living remains of MILTON will be no longer suffered to languish in distress. It is yet in the power of a great people, to reward the poet whose name they boast, and from their alliance to whose genius, they claim some kind of superiority to every other nation of the earth; that poet, whose works may possibly be read when every other monument of British greatness shall be obliterated; to reward him—not with pictures, or with medals, which, if he sees, he sees with contempt, but—with tokens of gratitude, which he, perhaps, may even now consider as not unworthy the regard of an immortal spirit. And surely, to those, who refuse their names to no other scheme of expence, it will not be
un-

unwelcome, that a SUBSCRIPTION is proposed, for relieving, in the languor of age, the pains of disease, and the contempt of poverty, the grand daughter of the author of PARADISE LOST. Nor can it be questioned, that if I, who have been marked out as the ZOILUS of MILTON, think this regard due to his posterity, the design will be warmly seconded by those, whose lives have been employed, in discovering his excellencies, and extending his reputation.

Subscriptions

For the Relief of

Mrs. ELIZABETH FOSTER,

Grand-daughter to JOHN MILTON,

are taken in by

Mr. Doddsley, in Pall-Mall;

Messrs. Cox and Collings, under the Royal Exchange;

Mr. Cave, at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell; and,

Messrs. Payne and Bouquet, in Pater-noster-Row.

L E T.

L E T T E R

O N

MILTON'S GRAND-DAUGHTER *.

S I R,

THAT a certain degree of reputation is acquired merely by approving the works of genius, and testifying a regard to the memory of authors, is a truth too evident to be denied; and therefore to ensure a participation of fame with a celebrated poet, many who would perhaps have contributed to starve him, when alive, have heaped expensive pageants upon his grave.

It must indeed be confessed, that this method of becoming known to posterity with honour, is peculiar to the great, or at least to the wealthy; but an opportunity now offers for almost every individual to secure the praise of paying a just regard to the illustrious dead, united with the pleasure of doing good to the living. To assist industrious indigence, struggling with distress,

* This letter is printed from the *European Magazine*, January 1785. The writer of the article in that work from whence it is taken, says, that it originally appeared in *The General Advertiser* of the 4th of April, 1750.

and

and debilitated by age, is a display of virtue, and an acquisition of happiness and honour.

Whoever, then, would be thought capable of pleasure in reading the works of our incomparable MILTON, and not so destitute of gratitude as to refuse to lay out a trifle in a rational and elegant entertainment for the benefit of his living remains, for the exercise of their own virtue, the increase of their reputation, and the pleasing consciousness of doing good, should appear at Drury-lane Theatre to-morrow, April 5, when *Comus* will be performed for the benefit of Mrs. Elizabeth Foster, grand-daughter to the author, and the only surviving branch of his family.

N. B. There will be a new prologue on the occasion, written by the author of *Irene*, and spoken by Mr. Garrick; and by particular desire, there will be added to the Masque, a dramatic satire called *Lethe*, in which Mr. Garrick will perform.

A
L E T T E R
TO THE

Reverend MR. DOUGLAS,

OCCASIONED

By his VINDICATION of MILTON.

To which are subjoined,

Several curious original LETTERS from the Authors of
the UNIVERSAL HISTORY, Mr. AINSWORTH,
Mr. MACLAURIN, &c.

By WILLIAM LAUDER, A.M.

Quem pœnitet peccasse pœne est innocens.

SENECA.

*Corpora magnanimo satis est prostrasse Leoni,
Pugna suum finem, quum jacet hostis, habet.*

OVID.

— *Prætulit Clementiam*

Juris Rigori. —

GROTII Adamus Exsul.

First printed in the Year MDCCLII.

Of this pamphlet Mr. Lauder gives the following account: " An ingenious gentleman (for whose amazing abilities I had conceived the highest veneration, and in whose candour and friendship I reposed the most implicit and unlimited confidence) advised me to make an unreserved disclosure of all the lines I had interpolated against Milton, with this view, chiefly, that no future critics might ever have an opportunity of valuing themselves upon small discoveries of a few lines, which would serve to revive my error, and keep the controversy eternally alive.

" With this expedient I then cheerfully complied, when that gentleman wrote for me the letter that was published in my name to Mr. Douglas, in which he committed one error that proved fatal to me, and at the same time injurious to the public. For, in place of acknowledging that such and such particular passages only were interpolated, he gave up the whole Essay against Milton as delusion and misrepresentation, and thereby imposed more grievously on the public than I had done, and that too in terms much more submissive and abject than the nature of the offence required.

" Though this letter, in many respects, contained not my sentiments, as plainly appears from the contradictory Postscript subjoined to it; yet such was my infatuation at that time, and implicit confidence in my friend, that I suffered it to be printed in my name, though I was previously informed by one of the greatest men of the age of its hurtful tendency, which I have since fully experienced to my cost.

" That the gentleman meant to serve me, and was really of opinion that the method he proposed might probably prove effectual for rescuing me from the odium of the public, and in some measure restoring my character to the honour it had lost, I was then disposed to believe. His repeated acts of friendship to me on former occasions, in conjunction with a reputation universally established for candour and integrity, left me little room to doubt it: though it is certainly a most preposterous method for a criminal, in order to obtain pardon for one act of felony, to confess himself guilty of a thousand. However, I cannot but condemn myself for placing so implicit a confidence in the judgment of any man, how great or good soever, as to suffer his mistakes to be given to the public as my opinion."

King Charles vindicated from the charge of plagiarism, brought against him by Milton, and Milton himself convicted of forgery and a gross imposition on the public, 8vo. 1754. p. 3. E.

TO THE

Reverend MR. DOUGLAS.

S I R,

CANDOUR and tenderness are in any relation, and on all occasions, eminently amiable ; but when they are found in an adversary, and found so prevalent as to over-power that zeal which his cause excites, and that heat which naturally increases in the prosecution of argument, and which may be in a great measure justified by the love of truth, they certainly appear with particular advantages ; and it is impossible not to envy those who possess the friendship of him, whom it is even some degree of good fortune to have known as an enemy.

I will not so far dissemble my weakness, or my fault, as not to confess that my wish was to have passed undetected ; but since it has been my fortune to fail in my original design, to have the supposititious passages which I have inserted in my quotations made known to the world, and the shade which began to gather on the splendour

dour of *Milton* totally dispersed, I cannot but count it an alleviation of my pain, that I have been defeated by a man who knows how to use advantages with so much moderation, and can enjoy the honour of conquest without the insolence of triumph.

It was one of the maxims of the *Spartans*, not to press upon a flying army, and therefore their enemies were always ready to quit the field, because they knew the danger was only in opposing. The civility with which you have thought proper to treat me, when you had incontestable superiority, has inclined me to make your victory complete, without any further struggle, and not only publicly to acknowledge the truth of the charge which you have hitherto advanced, but to confess, without the least dissimulation, subterfuge, or concealment, every other interpolation I have made in those authors, which you have not yet had opportunity to examine.

On the sincerity and punctuality of this confession, I am willing to depend for all the future regard of mankind, and cannot but indulge some hopes, that they whom my offence has alienated from me, may, by this instance of ingenuity and repentance, be propitiated and reconciled. Whatever be the event, I shall at least have done all that can be done in reparation of my former injuries to *Milton*, to truth, and to mankind, and entreat that those who shall continue implacable, will examine their own hearts, whether they have not committed equal crimes without equal proofs of sorrow, or equal acts of attonement*.

* The interpolations are distinguished by *Italic* characters.

PASSAGES interpolated in MASENIUS.

The word *pandæmonium* in the marginal notes of Book I. Essay, page 10.

CITATION VI. Essay, page 38.

Adnuit ipsa dolo, malumque (heu ! longa dolendi
Materies ! & triste nefas !) vesana momordit
Tanti ignara mali. Mora nulla, solutus Avernus
Exspuit infandas acies ; fractumque remugit
Divulsa compage solum : Nabathæa receptum
Regna dedere sonum, Pharioque in littore Nereus
Territus erubuit : simul adgemuere dolentes
Hesperiae valles, libyæque calentis arenæ
Exarsere procul. Stupefacta Lycaonis ursa
Constitit, & pavido riguit glacialis in axe :
Omnis cardinibus submotus inhorruit orbis ;
Angeli hoc efficiunt, cælestia jussa secuti.

CITATION VII. Essay, page 41.

Illa quidem fugiens, sparsis per terga capillis,
Ora rigat lacrimis, & cœlum questibus implet :
Talia voce rogans. Magni Deus arbiter orbis !
Qui rerum momenta tenes, solusque futuri
Præscius, elapsique memor ; quem terra potentem
Imperio, cœlique tremunt ; quem dite superbus
Horrescit Phlegethon, pavidoque furore veretur :
En ! Styge crudeli premimur. Laxantur hiatus
Tartarei, dirusque solo dominatur Avernus,
Infernique canes populantur cuncta creata,
Et manes violant superos : discrimina rerum

Sustulit Antitheus, divumque oppressit honorem.
 Respice Sarcotheam: nimis, heu! decepta momordit
 Infaustas epulas, nosque omnes prodidit hosti.

CITATION VIII. Essay, page 42, the whole passage.

*Quadrupedi pugnât quadrupes, volucrique volucris;
 Et piscis cum pisce ferox hostilibus armis
 Prælia sæva gerit: jam pristina pabula spernunt,
 Jam tondere piget viridantes gramine campos:
 Alterum & alterius vivunt animalia letho:
 Prisca nec in gentem humanam reverentia durat;
 Sed fugiunt, vel si steterant fera bella minantur
 Fronte truci, torvosque oculos jaculantur in illam.*

CITATION IX. Essay, page 43.

*Vatibus antiquis numerantur lumine cassis,
 Tiresias, Phineus, Thamyrisque, & magnus Homerus.*

The above passage stands thus in *Masenius*, in one line.

Tiresias cæcus, Thamyrisque, & Daphnis, Homerus.

N. B. The verse now cited is in *Masenius's Poems*, but not in the *Sarcotis*.

CITATION X. Essay, page 46.

*In medio, turmas inter provectus ovantes
 Cernitur antitheus, reliquis hic altior unus
 Eminent, & circum vulgus despectat inane:
 Frons nebulis obscura latet, torvumque furorem
 Dissimulat, fidæ tectus velamine noctis:*

*Perfimilis turri præcelsæ, aut montibus altis
Antiquæ cedro, nudatæ frondis honore.*

Passages interpolated in *Grotius*.

CITATION I. Essay, page 55.

Sacri tonantis hostis, exsul patriæ
Cœlestis adsum; tartari tristem specum
Fugiens, & atram noctis æternæ plagam.
Hac spe, quod unum maximum fugio malum,
Superos videbo. Fallor? an certé meo
Concussa tellus tota trepidat pondere?
Quid dico? Tellus? Orcus & pedibus tremit.

CITATION II. Essay, page 58, the whole passage.

*Nam, me iudice,
Regnare dignum est ambitu, etsi in Tartaro:
Alto præesse Tartaro siquidem juvat,
Calis quam in ipsis servi obire munia.*

CITATION IV. Essay, page 61, the whole passage.

*Innominata quæque nominibus suis,
Libet vocare propriis vocabulis.*

CITATION V. Essay, page 63.

Terrestris orbis rector! & princeps freti!
Cali solique soboles; ætherium genus!
Adame! dextram liceat amplecti tuam!

CITATION VI. Essay, *ibid.*

Quod illud animal, tramite obliquo means,
Ad me volutum flexili serpit viâ?

Sibila retorquet ora setosum caput
 Trifidamque linguam vibrat : oculi ardent duo,
Carbunculorum luce certantes rubrâ.

CITATION VII. Essay, page 65, the whole passage.

————— *Nata deo ! atque homine sata !*
Regina mundi ! eademque interitus inscia !
Cunctis colenda ! —————

CITATION VIII. Essay, Page 66, the whole passage.

Rationis etenim omnino paritas exigit,
Ego bruta quando bestia evasi loquens ;
Ex homine, qualis ante, te fieri Deam.

CITATION IX. Essay, *ibid.*

Per sancta thalami sacra, per jus nominis
 Quodcumque nostri : sive me natam vocas,
 Ex te creatam ; sive communi patre
 Ortam, sororem ; sive potius conjugem :
Cassam, oro, dulci luminis jubare tui
 Ne me relinquo : nunc tuo auxilio est opus,
 Cum versa fors est. Unicum lapsæ mihi
 Firmamen, unam spem gravi afflictæ malo,
 Te mihi reserva, dum licet : mortalium
 Ne tota soboles pereat unius nece :
Tibi nam relicta, quod petam ? aut ævum exigam ?

CITATION X. Essay, page 67, the whole passage.

Tu namque soli numini contrarius,
Minus es nocivus ; ast ego nocentior,

(*Adeoque*

*(Adeoque misera magis, quippe miseriæ comes
Origoque scelus est, lurida mater male!)
Deumque læsi scelere, teque, vir! simul,*

CITATION XI. Essay, page 68, the whole passage.

Quod comedo, poto, gigno, diris subjacet.

Interpolation in *Ramsay*,

CITATION VI. Essay, page 88,

O iudex! nova me facies inopinaque terret;
Me maculæ turpes, nudæque in corpore sordes,
Et cruciant duris exercita pectora pœnis:
Me ferus horror agit. Mihi non vernantia prata,
Non vitrei fontes, cœli non aurea templa,
Nec sunt grata mihi sub utroque jacentia sole:
Judicis ora Dei sic terrent, lancinat ægrum
Sic pectus mihi noxa. O si mî abrumpere vitam,
Et detur pœnam quovis evadere letho!
Ipsa parens utinam mihi tellus ima dehiscat!
Ad piceas trudarque umbras, atque infera regna!
Pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam!
Montibus aut premar injectis, cœlique ruinâ!
Ante tuos vultus, tua quam flammantiaque ora
Suspiciam, caput objectem & cœlestibus armis!

Interpolations in *Staphorstius*.

CITATION III. Essay, page 104.

Fœdus in humanis fragili quod sanctius ævo!
Firmius & melius, quod magnificentius, ac quam
Conjugii, sponsi sponsæque jugalia sacra!

*Auspice te, fugiens alieni subcuba lecti,
 Dira libido hominum tota de gente repulsa est :
 Ac tantum gregibus pecudum ratione carentum
 Imperat, & sine lege tori furibunda vagatur.
 Auspice te, quam jura probant, rectumque, piumque,
 Filius atque pater, fraterque innotuit ; & quot
 Vincula vicini sociarunt sanguinis, a te
 Nominibus didicere suam distinguere gentem.*

CITATION VI. Essay, page 109.

*Cœlestes animæ ! sublimia templa tenentes,
 Laudibus adcumulate deum super omnia magnum !—
 Tu quoque nunc animi vis tota ac maxuma nostri !
 Tota tui in Domini grates dissolvere laudes !
 Aurorâ redeunte novâ, redeuntibus umbris.
 Immensum ! augustum ! verum ! inscrutabile numen !
 Summe Deus ! sobolesque Dei ! consorsque duorum,
 Spiritus ! æternas retines, bone rector ! habenas,
 Per mare, per terras, cœlosque, atque unus Jhova
 Existens, celebrabo tuas, memorique sonabo
 Organico plectro laudes. Te pectore amabo,
 Te primum, & medium, & summum, sed sine carentem,
 O miris mirande modis ! ter maxime rerum !
 Collustrat terras dum lumine Titan Eoo !*

Interpolation in Fox. Essay, page 116.

Tu Pŷchephone

Hypocrisis esto, hoc sub Francisci pallio.
 Tu Thanate, Martyromastix re & nomine sis.

Altered

Altered thus,

Tu Pſychephone !

Hypocriſis eſto ; hoc ſub Franciſci pallio,
Quo tutò teſti ſeſe credunt emori.

Interpolation in *Quintianus*. Eſſay, page 117.

Mic. Cur huc procaci veneris curſu refer ?

Manere ſi quis in ſua poteſt domo,
Habitare numquam curet alienas domos,

Luc. Quis non, relictâ Tartari nigri domo,
Veniret ? Illic ſumma tenebrarum lues,
Ubi pedor ingens redolet extremum ſitum.
Hic autem amoena regna, & dulcis quies ;
Ubi ſerenus ridet æternum dies.

Mutare facile * eſt pondus immenſum levi,
Summos dolores maximisque gaudiis.

Interpolation in *Beza*. Eſſay, page 119.

Stygemque teſtor, & profunda Tartari,
Niſi impediret livor, & queis proſequor
Odia ſupremum numen, atque hominum genus,
Pietate motus hinc patris, & hinc filii,
Poſſem parenti condolere & filio,
Quaſi exuiſſem omnem malitiam ex pectore.

Interpolation in *Fletcher*. Eſſay, page 124.

Nec tamen æternos obliti (abſiſte timere)
Umquam animos, feſſique ingentes ponimus iras.

* For *facile*, the word *volupe* was ſubſtituted in the Eſſay.

Nec fas; non sic deficimus, nec talia tecum
 Gessimus, in coelos olim tua signa secuti.
 Est hic, est vitæ & magni contemptor Olympi,
 Quique oblatam animus lucis nunc respuat aulam,
 Et domiti tantum placeat cui regia cœli.
 Ne dubita, numquam fractis hæc pectora, numquam
 Deficient animis: prius ille ingentia cœli
 Atria, desertosque æternæ lucis alumnos
 Destituens, Erebum admigret noctemque profundam,
 Et Stygiis mutet radiantia lumina flammis.
*In promptu caussa est: superest invicta voluntas,
 Immortale odium, vindictæ & sæva cupido.*

Interpolations in Taubman. Essay, page 132.

Tune, ait, imperio regere omnia solus; & una
 Filius iste tuus, qui se tibi subjicit ultro,
 Ac genibus minor ad terram prosternit, & offert
 Nescio quos toties animi servilis honores?
 Et tamen æterni proles æterna Jehovahæ
 Audit ab ætherea luteaque propagine mundi.
 (*Scilicet hunc natum dixisti, cuncta regentem;
 Carlitibus regem cunctis, dominumque supremum*)
 Huic ego sim supplex? ego? quo præstantior alter
 Non agit in superis. Mihi jus dabit ille, suum qui
 Dat caput alterius sub jus & vincula legum?
 Semideus reget iste polos? reget avia terræ?
 Me pressum leviori manu fortuna tenebit?
 Et cogar æternum duplici servire tyranno?
 Haud ita. Tu solus non polles fortibus ausis,
 Non ego sic cecidi, nec sic mea fata premuntur,

Ut

Ut nequeam relevare caput, colloque superbum
Excudere imperium. Mihi si mea dextra favebit,
Audeo totius mihi jus promittere mundi.

Essay, page 152.

Throni, dominationes, principatus, virtutes, potestates, is said to be a line borrowed by MILTON from the title-page of HEYWOOD's *Hierarchy of Angels*. But there are more words in *Heywood's* title; and, according to his own arrangement of his subjects, they should be read thus.—*Seraphim, cherubim, throni, potestates, angeli, arch-angeli, principatus, dominationes*.

These are my interpolations, minutely traced without any arts of evasion. Whether from the passages that yet remain, any reader will be convinced of my general assertion, and allow, that *Milton* had recourse for assistance to any of the authors whose names I have mentioned, I shall not now be very diligent to enquire, for I had no particular pleasure in subverting the reputation of *Milton*, which I had myself once endeavoured to exalt*; and of which, the foundation had always remained untouched

* Virorum maximus—JOANNES MILTONUS—Poeta celeberrimus—non Angliæ modo, soli natalis, verum generis humani ornamentum—cujus eximius liber, Anglicanis versibus conscriptus, vulgo PARADISUS AMISSUS, immortalis illud ingenii monumentum, cum ipsa ferè æternitate perennaturum est opus!—Hujus memoriam Anglorum primus, post tantum, proh dolor! ab tanti excessu poetæ intervallum, statua eleganti in loco celeberrimo, cænobio Westmonasteriensi, posita, regum, principum, antistitum, illustriumque Angliæ

untouched by me, had not my credit and my interest been blasted, or thought to be blasted, by the shade which it cast from its boundless elevation.

About ten years ago, I published an edition of Dr. *Johnston's* translation of the *Psalms*, and having procured from the general assembly of the church of *Scotland*, a recommendation of its use to the lower classes of grammar-schools, into which I had begun to introduce it, though not without much controversy and opposition; I thought it likely that I should, by annual publications, improve my little fortune, and be enabled to support myself in freedom from the miseries of indigence. But Mr. *Pope*, in his malevolence to Mr. *Benson*, who had distinguished himself by his fondness for the same version, destroyed all my hopes by a distich, in which he places *Johnston* in a contemptuous comparison with the author of *Paradise Lost* †.

From

glizæ virorum cæmeterio, vir ornatissimus, Gulielmus Benson profectus est.

Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ in præfatione, Edinb. 1739.

A character, as high and honourable as ever was bestowed upon him by the most sanguine of his admirers! and as this was my cool and sincere opinion of that wonderful man formerly, so I declare it to be the same still, and ever will be, notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary, occasioned merely by passion and resentment; which appear, however, by the Postscript to the Essay, to be so far from extending to the posterity of *Milton*, that I recommended his only remaining descendent, in the warmest terms, to the public.

† On two unequal crutches prop'd he * came,

MILTON's on this, on that one JOHNSTON's name.

Dunciad. Book IV.

* *Benson.*] This man endeavoured to raise himself to fame, by erecting monuments, striking coins, and procuring translations of *Milton*;

From this time, all my praises of *Johnston* became ridiculous, and I was censured with great freedom, for forcing upon the schools, an author whom Mr. *Pope* had mentioned only as a foil to a better poet. On this occasion, it was natural not to be pleased, and my resentment seeking to discharge itself some where, was unhappily directed against *Milton*. I resolved to attack his fame, and found some passages in cursory reading, which gave me hopes of stigmatizing him as a plagiarist. The farther I carried my search, the more eager I grew for the discovery, and the more my hypothesis was opposed, the more I was heated with rage. The consequence of my blind passion, I need not relate; it has by your detection, become apparent to mankind. Nor do I mention this provocation as adequate to the fury which I have shown, but as a cause of anger, less shame-

Milton; and afterwards by a great passion for *Arthur Johnston*, a *Scott* physician's version of the psalms, of which he printed many fine editions. *Notes on the Dunciad*.

No fewer than six different editions of that useful and valuable book, two in quarto, two in octavo, and two in a lesser form, now lie like lumber in the hand of Mr. *Vaillant*, bookseller, the effects of Mr. *Pope*'s ill-natured criticism.

One of these editions in quarto, illustrated with an interpretation and notes, after the manner of the classic authors *in usum Delphini*, was by the worthy editor, anno 1741, inscribed to his Royal Highness Prince *George*, as a proper book for his instruction in principles of piety, as well as knowledge of the *Latin* tongue, when he should arrive at due maturity of age. To restore this book to credit was the cause that induced me to engage in this disagreeable controversy, rather than any design to depreciate the just reputation of *Milton*.

ful

ful and reproachful than fractious malice, personal envy, or national jealousy.

But for the violation of truth, I offer no excuse, because I well know, that nothing can excuse it. Nor will I aggravate my crime, by disingenuous palliations. I confess it, I repent it, and resolve, that my first offence shall be my last. More I cannot perform, and more therefore cannot be required. I intreat the pardon of all men, whom I have by any means induced to support, to countenance, or patronise my frauds, of which I think myself obliged to declare, that not one of my friends was conscious. I hope to deserve, by better conduct and more useful undertakings, that patronage which I have obtained from the most illustrious and venerable names by misrepresentation and delusion, and to appear hereafter in such a character, as shall give you no reason to regret that your name is frequently mentioned with that of,

Reverend Sir,

Dec 20, 1750.

Your most humble servant,

WILLIAM LAUDER.

T E S-

TESTIMONIES concerning Mr. LAUDER.

Edinb. May 22, 1734.

THESE are certifying, that Mr. *William Lauder* past his course at this university, to the general satisfaction of these masters, under whom he studied. That he has applied himself particularly to the study of humanity * ever since. That for several years past, he has taught with success, students in the Humanity Class, who were recommended to him by the professor thereof. And lastly, has taught that class itself, during the indisposition, and since the death of its late professor: and therefore is, in our opinion, a fit person to teach Humanity in any school or college whatever.

*J. Gowdie, S. S. T. P.**Matt. Craufurd, S. S. T. & Hist. Ec.**Pr. Reg.**William Scott, P. P.**Robert Stuart, Ph. Nat. Pr.**Col. Drummond, L. G. & P. Pr.**Col. Mac. Laurin, Math. P. Edin.**Al. Bayne, J. P.**Charles Macky, Hist. P.**Alex. Morro, Anat. P.**William Dawson, L. H. P.*

* So the *Latin* tongue is called in *Scotland*, from the *Latin* phrase, *classis humaniorum literarum*, the class or form where that language is taught.

A LETTER from the Reverend Mr. Patrick Cuming, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, and Regius Professor of Church History in the University there, to the Reverend Mr. Blair, Rector of the Grammar-School at Dundee.

D. B.

UPON a public advertisement in the news-papers, of the vacancy of a master's place in your school, Mr. *William Lauder*, a friend of mine, proposes to set up for a candidate, and goes over for that purpose. He has long taught the *Latin* with great approbation in this place, and given such proofs of his mastery in that language, that the best judges do upon all occasions recommend him as one who is qualified in the best manner. He has taught young boys and young gentlemen, with great success; nor did I ever hear of any complaint of him from either parents or children. I beg leave to recommend him to you as my friend; what friendship you show him, I will look upon as a very great act of friendship to me, of which he and I will retain the most grateful sense, if he is so happy as to be preferred. I persuade myself, you will find him ready at all times to be advised by you, as I have found him. *Indeed if justice had been done him, he should long ago have been advanced for his merit.* I ever am,

D. B.

Your most affectionate,

Edin. Nov. 13, 1742.

Humble servant,

PATRICK CUMING.

A LET-

A LETTER from Mr. Mac-Laurin, late Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, to the Rev. Mr. George Blair, Rector of the Grammar-School at Dundee.

S I R,

THOUGH unacquainted, I take the liberty of giving you this trouble, from the desire I have always had to see Mr. *Lauder* provided in a manner suited to his talent. I know him to have made uncommon progress in classical learning, to have taught it with success, and never heard there could be any complaint against his method of teaching. I am, indeed, a stranger to the reasons of his want of success on former occasions. But after conversing with him, I have ground to hope, that he will be always advised by you, for whom he professes great esteem, and will be useful under you. I am,

S I R,

*College of Edinburgh,
Nov. 30, 1742.*

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

COLIN MAC-LAURIN.

*A LETTER from the Authors of the UNIVERSAL HISTORY
to Mr. LAUDER.*

Learned Sir,

London, August 12, 1741.

WHEN we so gladly took the first opportunity of reviving the memory and merit of your incomparable *Johnston*, in the first volume of our *Universal History*,

History, our chief aim was to excite some generous *Mecenas* to favour the world with a new edition of a poem which we had long since beheld with no small concern, buried, as it were, by some unaccountable fatality, into an almost total oblivion; whilst others of that kind, none of them superior, many vastly inferior to it, rode, unjustly, as we thought, triumphant over his silent grave. And it is with great satisfaction that we have seen our endeavours so happily crowned in the edition you soon after gave of it at *Edinburgh*, in your learned and judicious vindication of your excellent author, and more particularly by the just deference which your learned and pious convocation has been pleased to pay to that *admirable version*.

We have had since then, the pleasure to see your worthy example followed here, in the several beautiful editions of the honourable Mr. Auditor *Benson*, with his critical notes upon the work.

It was, indeed, the farthest from our thoughts, to enter into the merit of the controversy between your two great poets, *Johnston* and *Buchanan*; neither were we so partial to either as not to see, that each had their shades as well as lights; so that, if the latter has been more happy in the choice and variety of his metre, it is as plain, that he has given his poetic genius such an unlimited scope, as has in many cases quite disfigured the peculiar and inimitable beauty, simplicity, and energy of the original, which the former, by a more close and judicious version, has constantly, and surprisingly displayed. Something like this we ventured to hint in our note upon these two noble versions; to have said

more

more, would have been inconsistent with our designed brevity.

We have likewise since seen what your opponent has writ in praise of the one, and derogation of the other, and think you have sufficiently confuted him, and with respect to us, he has been so far from giving us any cause to retract what we had formerly said, that it has administered an occasion to us of vindicating it, as we have lately done by some critical notes on your excellent *Johnston*, which we communicated soon after to Mr. *A. B.* who was pleased to give them a place in his last edition of him, and which we doubt not you have seen long ago. How they have been relished among you we know not, but with us they have been thought sufficient to prove what we have advanced, as well as to direct the attentive reader to discover new instances of your author's exactness and elegance, in every page, if not almost in every line.

We gratefully accept of the books, and kind compliments you were pleased to transmit to us by Mr. *Straban*, and had long since returned you our thanks, but for the many avocations which the great work you know us to be engaged in doth of necessity bring upon us; obliging us, or some at least of our society, to make from time to time an excursion to one or other of our two learned universities, and consulting them upon the best method of carrying on this work to the greatest advantage to the public. This has been some considerable part of our employment for these twelve months past; and we flatter ourselves, that we have, with their assistance and approbation, made such considerable

L.

derable improvements on our original plan, as will scarcely fail of being acceptable to the learned world. They will shortly appear in print, to convince the world that we have not been idle, though this sixth volume is like to appear somewhat later in the year than was usual with our former ones. We shall take the liberty to transmit some copies of our new plan to you as soon as they are printed. All we have left to wish, with respect to your excellent countryman and his version is, that it may always meet with such powerful and impartial advocates, and that it may be as much esteemed by all candid judges, as it is by,

Learned SIR,

Your sincere Well-wishers and humble Servants,

The AUTHORS of the Universal History.

*A LETTER from the Learned Mr. ROBERT AINSWORTH,
Author of the Latin and English Dictionary, to Mr.
LAUDER.*

Learned and worthy SIR,

THESE wait on you to thank you for the honour you have done a person, equally unknown as undeserving, in your valuable present, which I did not receive till several weeks after it was sent: and since I received it, my eyes have been so bad, and my hand so unstable, that I have been forced to defer my duty, as desirous to thank you with my own hand. I congratulate

late to your nation the just honour ascribed to it by its neighbours and more distant countries, in having bred two such excellent poets as your *Buchanan* and *Johnston*, whom to name is to commend; but am concerned for their honour at home, who being committed together, seem to me both to suffer a diminution, whilst justice is done to neither. But at the same time I highly approve your nation's piety in bringing into your schools sacred instead of profane poesy, and heartily wish that ours, and all Christian governments, would follow your example herein. If a mixture of *utile dulci* be the best composition in poetry, (which is too evident to need the judgment of the nicest critic in the art) surely the *utile* so transcendently excels in the sacred hymns, that a Christian must deny his name that doth not acknowledge it: and if the *dulce* seem not equally to excel, it must be from a vitiated taste of those who read them in the original, and in others at second-hand from translations. For the manner of writing in the East and West are widely distant, and which to a paraphrast must render his task exceeding difficult, as requiring a perfect knowledge in two languages, wherein the idioms and graces of speech, caused by the diversity of their religion, laws, customs, &c. are as remote as the inhabitants, wherein notwithstanding your poets have succeeded to admiration.

Your main contest seems to me, when stript of persons, whether the easy or sublime in poesy be preferable; if so,

Non epis est nostræ tantam componere litem :

nor think I it in your case material to be decided. Both these have their particular excellencies and graces, and youth ought to be taught wherein (which the matter ought chiefly to determine) the one hath place, and where the other. Now since the hymns of *David*, *Moses*, and other divine poets intermixt with them, (infinitely excelling those of *Callimachus*, *Alcæus*, *Sappho*, *Anacreon*, and all others) abound in both these virtues, and both your poets are acknowledged to be very happy in paraphrasing them, it is my opinion both of them, without giving the least preference to either, should be read alternately in your schools, as the tutor shall direct. Pardon, learned Sir, this scribble to my age and weakness, both which are very great, and command me wherein I may serve you, as,

Learned SIR,

Your obliged, thankful, and obedient Servant,

Spitalfields, Sept. 1741.

ROBERT AINSWORTH.

*A LETTER from the Authors of the Universal History to
Mr. Auditor BENSON.*

SIR,

IT is with no small pleasure that we see Dr. *Johnston's* translation of the Psalms revived in so elegant a manner, and adorned with such a just and learned display of its inimitable beauties. As we flatter ourselves that the character we gave it in our first volume of the *Universal History*, did in some measure contribute to it,

we

we hope, that in justice to that great poet, you will permit us to cast the following mites into your treasury of critical notes on his noble version. We always thought the palm by far this author's due, as upon many other accounts, so especially for two excellencies hitherto not taken notice of by any critic, that we know of, and which we beg leave to transmit to you, and if you think fit, by you to the public, in the following observations.

We beg leave to subscribe ourselves,

SIR, &c.

The Authors of the UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Dr. Isaac Watts, D. D. in his late Book, entitled, *The Improvement of the Mind*, Lond. 1741, p. 114.

UPON the whole survey of things, it is my opinion, that for almost all boys who learn this tongue, [the *Latin*] it would be much safer to be taught *Latin poesy* (as soon, and as far as they can need it) from those excellent translations of *David's Psalms*, which are given us by *Buchanan* in the various measures of *Horace*; and the lower classes had better read Dr. *Johnston's* translation of those *Psalms*, another elegant writer of the *Scots* nation, instead of *Ovid's Epistles*; for he has turned the same *Psalms*, perhaps with greater elegancy, into elegiac verse, whereof the learned *W. Benson, Esq;* has lately published a new edition; and I hear that these *Psalms* are honoured with an increasing use in the schools of *Holland* and *Scotland*. A stanza, or a couplet of those

writers would now and then stick upon the minds of youth, and would furnish them infinitely better with pious and moral thoughts, and do something towards making them good men and Christians.

An Act of the Commission of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, recommending Dr. Arthur Johnston's Latin Paraphrase of the Psalms of David, &c.

At Edinburgh, 13th of November, 1740. post meridiem.

A Petition having been presented to the late General Assembly, by Mr. *William Lauder*, Teacher of Humanity in Edinburgh, craving, That Dr. *Arthur Johnston's* Latin Paraphrase on the Psalms of David, and Mr. *Robert Boyd* of Trochrig his *Hecatombe Christiana*, may be recommended to be taught in all grammar-schools; and the assembly having appointed a committee of their number to take the desire of the foresaid petition into their consideration, and report to the Commission: the said committee offered their opinion, that the Commission should grant the desire of the said petition, and recommend the said Dr. *Johnston's* Paraphrase to be taught in the lower classes of the schools, and Mr. *George Buchanan's* Paraphrase on the Psalms, together with Mr. *Robert Boyd* of Trochrig's *Hecatombe Christiana* in the higher classes of schools, and Humanity-classes in universities. The Commission having heard the said report, unanimously approved thereof, and did, and hereby do recommend accordingly. Extracted by

WILLIAM GRANT, * Cl. Ecl. Sc.

* This honourable gentleman is now his Majesty's Advocate for Scotland.

A LETTER from the learned Mr. Abraham Gronovius,
Secretary to the University of Leyden, to Mr. Lauder,
concerning the *Adamus Exsul* of Grotius.

Clarissimo Viro, Wilhelmo Laudero, Abrahamus Gronovius,
S. P. D.

POSTquam binæ literæ tuæ ad me perlatæ fuerunt,
duas editiones carminum *H. Grotii*, viri vere summi,
excussi; verùm ab utraque tragœdiam, quam *Adamum
Exulem* inscripsit ὁ πᾶν, abesse deprehendi; neque ullum
ejusdem exemplar, quamvis tres † editiones existare ad-
notaveram, ullibi offendere potui, adeo ut spe, quam
vorabam desiderio tuo satisfaciendi, me prorsus excidisse
existimarem.

Verùm nuperrime fortè contigit, ut primam *Tragœdiæ
Grotianæ* editionem, *Hagæ*, An. 1601. publicatam, bene-
ficio amicissimi mihi viri nactus fuerim, ejusque decem
priors paginas, quibus præter chorum actus primus
comprehenditur, a Jacobo meo, optimæ spei adolescente,
transcriptas nunc ad te mitto. Vale vir doctissime,
meque ut facis amare perge. Dabam Lugd. Bat. A. D.
iv. Eid. Sept. A. D. MDCCXLVI.

† Though *Gronovius* here mentions only three editions of this
noble and curious performance, the *Adamus Exsul* of *Grotius*; yet
it appears from the catalogue of his works, that no fewer than four
have been printed, two in quarto, and two in octavo, in the years
1601, 1608, and 1635; two having been made, one in quarto,
the other in octavo, Anno 1601.

*A Second LETTER from the same Gentleman to Mr. Lauder,
on the same Subject.*

Clarissime atque Eruditissime Vir !

POSTEAquam tandem Jacobus meus residuam partem, quam desiderabas, *Tragediæ Grotianæ* transcripserat, ut eâ diutius careres, committere nolui : quod autem citius illam ad finem perducere non potuerit, obstiterunt variae occupationes, quibus districtus fuit. Nam præter scholastica studia, quibus strenuè incubuit, ipsi componenda erat oratio, qua rudimenta linguæ Græcæ Latinaeque deponeret, eamque, quod vehementer lætor, venustè, & quidem stilo ligato, composuit, & in magna auditorum corona pronuntiavit. Quod autem ad exemplar ipsum, quo *Adamus Exsul* comprehenditur, spectat, id lubens, si meum foret, ad te perferri curarem, verum illud a clarissimo possessore tanti æstimatur, ut persuasum habeam me istud minimè ab ipso impetraturum : & sane sacra carmina *Grotii* adeo rarò obvia sunt, ut eorundem exemplar apud ipsos *remonstrantium* ecclesiastas frustra quæfiverim.

Opus ipsum inscriptum est HENRICO BORBONIO, PRINCIPI CONDÆO; & forma libri est in quarto, ut nullo pacto literis includi possit. Ceterum, pro splendidissima & Magnæ Britanniae principe, cui meritò dicata est, digna editione Psalmorum, ex versione metrica *omnium* ferè poëtarum principis JONSTONI maximas tibi grates habet agitque Jacobus. Utinam illustrissimus *Bensonus* in usum serenissimi principis, atque ingeniorum in altiora surgentium, eâdem formâ, iisdemque typis
exarari

exarari juberet divinos illos Ciceronis de Officiis libros, dignos sane, quos diurnâ nocturnâque manu versaret princeps, a quo aliquando Britannici regni majestas & populi salus penderent! Interim tibi, eruditissime vir, atque etiam politissimo D. *Caveo*, pro muneribus literariis, quæ per nobilem *Lawsonium** ad me curâstis, magno opere me obstrictum agnosco, eademque summa cum voluptate a me perlecta sunt.

Filius meus te plurimum salutatur.

Vale doctissime vir, meisque verbis D. *Caveum* saluta, atque amare perge,

Tuum,

Dabam Leidis, A.D. xiv. Kal.
Majas, A.D. mdccxlvii.

ABRAHAMUM GRONOVIVM.

* The person here meant was the learned and worthy Dr. *Isaac Lawson*, late physician to the *English* army in *Flanders*; by whom Mr. *Gronovius* did me the honour to transmit to me two or three acts of the *Adamus Exsul* of *Grotius*, transcribed by his son Mr. *James*. The truth of this particular consists perfectly well with the knowledge of the Doctor's brother, *John Lawson*, Esq; counsellor at law; who also had the same thing lately confirmed to him by Mr. *Gronovius* himself in *Holland*.

P O S T.

P O S T S C R I P T.

AND now my character is placed above all suspicion of fraud by authentic documents, I will make bold at last to pull off the mask, and declare sincerely the true motive that induced me to interpolate a few lines into some of the authors quoted by me in my Essay on *Milton*, which was this: Knowing the prepossession in favour of *Milton*, how deeply it was rooted in many, I was willing to make trial, if the partial admirers of that author would admit a translation of his own words to pass for his sense, or exhibit his meaning; which I thought they would not: nor was I mistaken in my conjecture, forasmuch as several gentlemen, seemingly persons of judgment and learning, assured me, they humbly conceived I had not proved my point, and that *Milton* might have written as he has done, supposing he he had never seen these authors, or they had never existed. Such is the force of prejudice! This exactly confirms the judicious observation of the excellent moralist and poet:

*Pravo favore labi mortales solent,
Et pro judicio dum stant erroris sui,
Ad penitendum rebus manifestis agi.*

For

For had I designed (as the vindicator of *Milton* supposes) to impose a trick on the public, and procure credit to my assertions by an imposture, I would never have drawn lines from *Hog's* translation of *Milton*, a book common at every sale, I had almost said at every stall, nor ascribed them to authors so easily attained: I would have gone another way to work, by translating forty or fifty lines, and assigning them to an author, whose works possibly might not be found till the world expire at the general conflagration. My imposing therefore on the public in general, instead of a few obstinate persons (for whose sake alone the stratagem was designed) is the only thing culpable in my conduct, for which again I most humbly ask pardon: and that this, and this only was, as no other could be, my design, no one I think can doubt, from the account I have just now given; and whether that was so criminal, as it has been represented, I shall leave every impartial mind to determine.

P R E F A C E *

T O

A new Method of Stating and Explaining the
SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY, upon Mosaic Astro-
nomical Principles, Mediums, and Data, as laid
down in the PENTATEUCH. By JOHN KEN-
NEDY, Rector of *Bradley* in the County of
Derby. First published 1752.

THE importance of the point, the settling of which
is the attempt of the following sheets, fully appears
from its having employed the researches and pens of the
most learned and inquisitive in all ages; and the *difficul-*
ties, with which its determination is attended, are no less
apparent, from all human calculations having been
hitherto devoid of agreement, and their endeavours un-
able to bring it to any precise regulation. To ascertain
then a branch of science no less difficult than *useful*
to be adjusted, may be thought well to claim the divine
interposition.

——— *Deus interfit.* ——— *Dignus vindice Nodus*
Incidit. ———

* Ascribed to Dr. Johnson on the authority of Hawkins's Life
of Johnson. E.

I therefore

I therefore present the reader with a system of chronology built upon *Mosaic* principles and data; and do request of him to lay aside, for a while, all preconceptions of difficulties and objections, till he has viewed my whole scheme, and considered it in all its parts.

It has seldom or never happened, that a scheme of any kind has been brought to perfection in the first attempt. But here it must be remembered, that the scheme of genuine sacred chronology, is of too refined and delicate a nature to admit of any *mean*; and the proof of it, like the source and fountain from whence it was derived, must be *perfect in its origin*.

My calculations, founded on the terms, principles and data of the *Pentateuch*, lay a claim to a just exactness; and should they, upon a due examination, be found *liable to produce* erroneous conclusions in Sun and Moon astronomy, they *cannot be Mosaic*, and I must acknowledge myself to have been guilty of a very *high misnomer*, in giving them such a sacred appellation. And therefore the conviction of *a single error in time*, from the creation to this day, which, upon notice given, cannot be corrected upon the principles laid down, must be admitted as a confutation of this whole performance, and there will be no plea left, but only,

Quod si non tenuit magnis tamen excidit ausis.

The more immediate view of this work is to evince, amongst others, the following propositions, which were drawn up by me nearly in the same form, and published some time ago, when several subscriptions were taken in
upon

upon them ; and sorry I am that I could not discharge my obligations sooner to those, who were so kind as to encourage my design, which I certainly would have done, had I not in this interval met with many unexpected interruptions.

I. The original position of the two great luminaries, the Sun and Moon, with respect to the Earth, on the fourth of the Hexaëmeron, deduced from the first chapter of *Genesis*, and ascertained in the Levitical law, by *Moses*, when he enjoins the observation of the feast of the In-gathering on the 15th day of the month, in the revolution, *i. e.* end of the year : here the number 15 (which is the Scripture full-moon day, and was its quality on the 4th of the Hexaëmeron) does really and in fact, with a true astronomical exactness, express the distance of the *Mosaic* cardinal, *i. e.* autumnal æquinoctial point, from the evening of the Moon's visibility, ————



II. An astronomical determination on what day of the week was the 4th of the Hexaëmeron, collected and stated from the *Mosaic* terms of computation, *viz.* days, weeks, and years ; beginning his account of time, and his chronology, from a cardinal point of the heavens, *viz.* the autumnal æquinox ; and from a cardinal point of the day, *viz.* noon, with respect to the *Mosaic* meridian, which is geographically described, *Gen. ch. 2. ver. 10. &c.*

III. *Moses*

III. *Moses* measures the lives of the patriarchs by the course of the Sun, or tropical solar years; and records all historical transactions and events by the months and days of the lunar year, computed from new Moon (☾) to new Moon (☾).

IV. In consequence of the preceding proposition, it will appear from *Gen. i. 14.* and *Moses's* account of the deluge, that *Noah* was in the ark, part of two distinct solar, and part of two distinct lunar, years.

N. B. (1st) The two distinct solar years are expressed by the numbers 600 and 601. *Gen. ch. vii. ver. 11.* and *ch. viii. ver. 13.*

The two distinct lunar years are thus pointed out: *Noah* entered into the ark, *Gen. ch. vii. ver. 11.* on the 17th day of the 2d month of that lunar year, which was concurrent with the solar year of his life 600; and he received the divine command to come out of the ark, *Gen. ch. viii. ver. 14, 15,* on the 27th day of the 2d month of that lunar year, which was concurrent with the solar year of his life, 601.

(2dly) In the year of *Noah* 600, in which the deluge began and ended, there was a co-incidence of the lunar year with the solar, the epact at the conclusion of that year being 11, and is plainly deducible from the *Mosaic* account, according to the *Hebrew* text.

(3dly) The *Mosaic* historical narration of the circumstances, process and conclusion of the deluge, is extremely curious, and will be found to be the key, whereby we may open many, if not most, of the secrets of the scripture computation, as, (1) not only the number of days in

in a month, but also the manner of computing and adjusting the months, both of the solar and of the lunar year. (2) The quality of the Moon which constitutes the head or beginning of the lunar year. (3) The primitive and true astronomical law, of connecting the lunar years with the solar.

V. It will appear from the Calendar of the year of *Noah* 600, when rightly collected from the *Mosaic* narration, that the several characters, by which any given scripture year is distinguished from another, are, the day of the month, the day of the week, and the cardinal point of the day in which the Sun crosses the *Mosaic* cardinal point of the heavens: from hence it comes to pass, that the day of the week never occurs in the *Pentateuch*, or throughout the *Hebrew* scriptures, because it is not only included in general, but astronomically given, as I shall prove, in the day of the month; *e. g.* when *Moses* tells us, *Gen. ch. viii. ver. 4.* that the ark rested on (one of) the mountains of *Ararat* on the 17th day of the 7th month of that year in which the deluge began, he had no occasion to add, that it was on the 4th day of the week. Points which may be justly reckoned amongst the secrets of the antient and original computation.

VI. *Moses's* canon (*i. e.* list, roll or catalogue) of patriarchs, from *Adam* to *Joseph* inclusive, containing an interval of 2369 years, according to the *Hebrew* text, is a most accurate astronomical canon; and may be proved to be so, independent of any period, epocha, or computation

tation, except what is founded on the terms and principles of the *Pentateuch*, and the *given characters* of the world's æra.

VII. The *Mosaic* genealogies, both before and after the flood, constitute an uninterrupted and successive chronology, which astronomically ascertains the true extent of the world's past duration; because,

1st. The years of the patriarchs run parallel with the years of the world.

2dly. Every *Mosaic* (and Scripture) *Shanab* is a true solar revolution.

VIII. The quantity of the solar tropical year may be ascertained with the minutest exactness, to an indivisible point, from a year of commensuration, suggested by this text of Scripture, and others of the like import; *Gen. i. v. v. 27. All the days of Methuselah were 969 years.*

And it may be necessary to observe, that the exact commensuration of the annual and diurnal revolutions, has happened but 3 times since the creation: the fourth will be completed A. D. 1753, at the autumnal æquinox.

IX. There can be no chasm in the Scripture-chronology, because it may be demonstrated that there is no interruption in the Scripture-astronomy.

X. The form of the patriarchal twofold (*i. e.* both solar and lunar) year, is no where to be found, but in the patriarchal line.

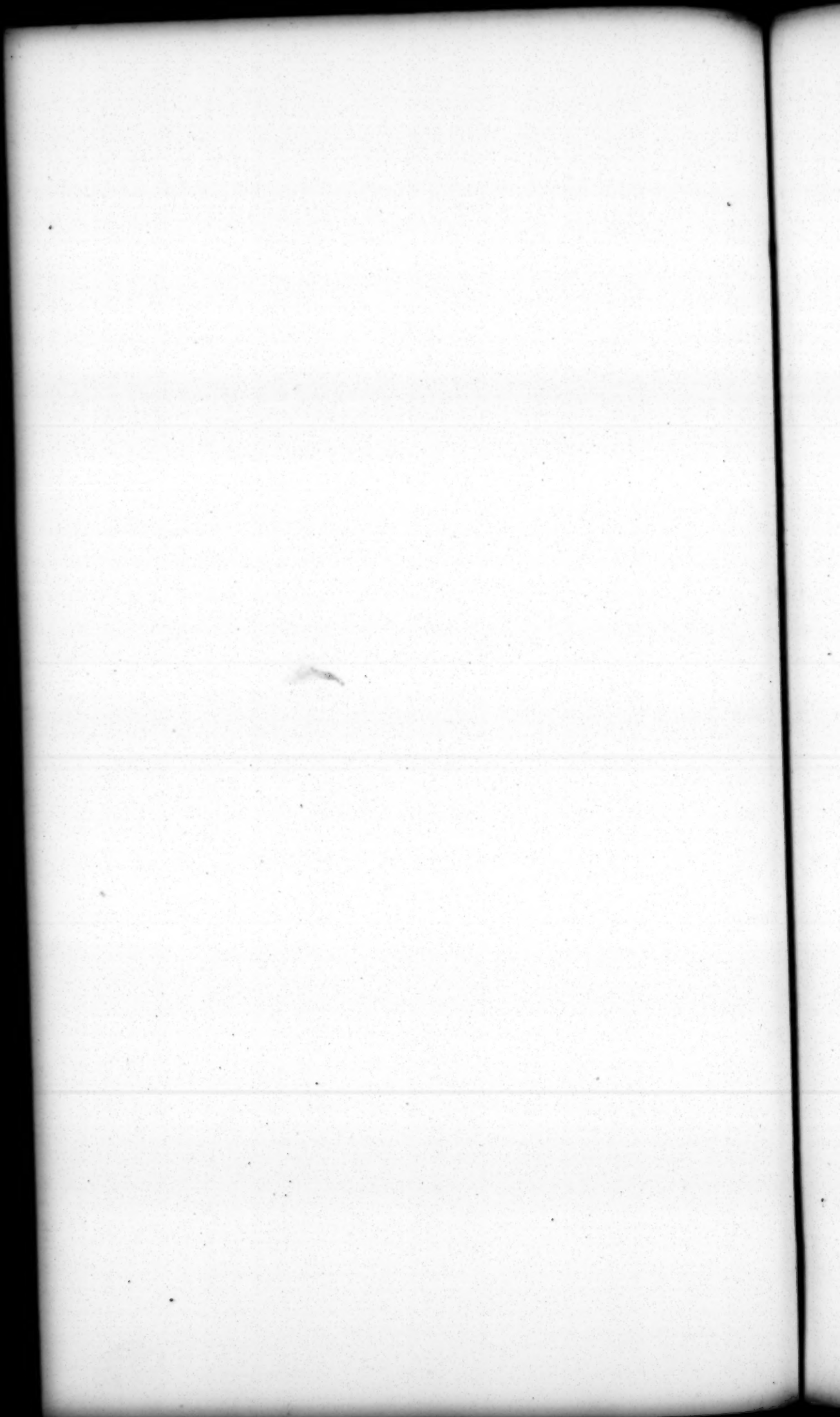
XI. The year of 360 days, which, for many ages, so generally prevailed in the postdiluvian world, will appear to be, probably, nothing more than a mutilation of the original and patriarchal solar tropical year; being the only part of the primitive computation, which the descendants of *Ham* and *Japheth*, and some branches of the family of *Shem*, retained in their several dispersions. Mr. *Whiston* has framed a plausible and ingenious theory upon this single article, but it has no foundation in Scripture.

XII. The terms Antediluvian, *Mosaic*, and Scripture astronomy, are not to be understood, as relating to, and comprehending the planetary system; they are to be confined to the Sun (and Moon) considered as the natural adequate measure of time, by its annual revolution. To which office it was originally designed and appointed by God himself at the creation; and to which it is constantly and with great exactness applied in the chronology of the *Pentateuch*.

N. B. To render my astronomical calculations plain and easy to be understood, I have inserted and explained a concise astronomical table, both solar and lunar, constructed from the inverted position of the luminaries, A. M. 1. and A. M. 1656. [See page 14.] And should the world continue any definite number of ages, the table founded on this inverted position will stand in need of no alteration or correction.

The purport of this undertaking will not lead me to treat of the origin, or to settle the chronology, of the most antient kingdoms and nations, where the Scriptures
are

are silent. Nor shall I attempt the connection of the Sacred History with the Profane : and indeed was I desirous to do it, I know not of one instance of that kind, which can be depended upon with certainty, (excepting the æra of the Olympiads, of the building of *Rome* according to *Varro*, and the æra of *Nabonassar*) before the expedition of *Nebuchadnezzar* into *Judea*, &c. mentioned by the prophet *Daniel*, *ch. i. ver. 1.* and is confirmed by the much noted fragment of *Berosus*. Neither is it necessary to make a digression, in order to state and explain the most antient forms of year, which have been in use since the flood ; but I shall entirely confine my enquiries to the *Mosaic* and Scripture year ; and it will be my peculiar province to collect the principles and data, which lie dispersed through the *Pentateuch*, and to undertake to prove, by their assistance, that the whole of Sacred chronology is built upon a most sure, and truly astronomical, foundation. These are some of the particulars which may be still reckoned amongst the necessary and essential *desiderata*, notwithstanding the many learned and elaborate volumes, which have been wrote and published upon the subject of the Scripture chronology.



*A correct Table of the Magnetical Variation
at the most remarkable Cities in Europe
commencing AD 1660, & ending 1860.*

Lat. N.	38. 40	53. 11	55. 47	51. 32	48. 50	41. 51	50. 40	61. 00
	Lisbon	Dublin	Edinb.	London	Paris	Rome	Prague	Upsala
Long. AD.	10. 52 W.	7. 37 W.	2. 57 W.	0. 00	2. 7 E.	12. 57 E.	14. 20 E.	17. 20 E.
1660	1 1/2	2	1 1/2	0 1/2	0 1/2 E	1 E	3 1/2 E	4 1/2 E
1670	3	4 1/2	3 1/2	2	1	0 1/2 E	2 1/2 E	3 1/2 E
1680	4 1/2	6 1/2	5 1/2	4 1/2	2 1/2	2 1/2	1 1/2	0 1/2
1690	6 1/2	7 1/2	8	7	5 1/2	4 1/2	2 1/2	2 1/2
1700	8 1/2	9 1/2	10 1/2	9 1/2	8	6	4 1/2	4 1/2
1710	9 1/2	10 1/2	13	11 1/2	10 1/2	7 1/2	6 1/2	7
1720	12 1/2	13	15 1/2	13 1/2	12 1/2	9 1/2	8	9 1/2
1730	14 1/2	15 1/2	17 1/2	15 1/2	14 1/2	11 1/2	10 1/2	12 1/2
1740	15 1/2	18 1/2	19 1/2	17 1/2	16 1/2	13 1/2	12 1/2	15 1/2
1750	17	21	21 1/2	20	18 1/2 W	14 1/2 W	15 1/2 W	17 1/2
1760	18	23	23 1/2	22 1/2	21	15 1/2	17 1/2	19 1/2
1770	19	24 1/2	26 1/2	25	23	16	19 1/2	22 1/2
1780	20	26	28 1/2	27	25	17	21 1/2	24 1/2
1790	21	27 1/2	29 1/2	28	26	18	22 1/2	26 1/2
1800	20 1/2	27 1/2	30 1/2	29	27	19	24 1/2	29 1/2
1810	20 1/2	27 1/2	31 1/2	29	27 1/2	20 1/2	26	31 1/2
1820	20	28	32 1/2	29	27 1/2	20 1/2	27 1/2	32 1/2
1830	19	28 1/2	30 1/2	29 1/2	27 1/2	20 1/2	29	32 1/2
1840	19 1/2	28 1/2	35	29 1/2	29	27 1/2	28 1/2	32 1/2
1850	19 1/2	28 1/2	32 1/2	29 1/2	28	27 1/2	32 1/2	37 1/2
1860	19	28	31	30	26 1/2	27	32 1/2	36 1/2

This Table formed upon the true Doctrine of Magnetism in 1754 is recommended to the notice of Admirals by Zachariah

AN

ACCOUNT

OF AN

ATTEMPT

TO ASCERTAIN THE

LONGITUDE.

First printed in the Year MDCCCLV.

M 3

AN

A N
A C C O U N T
OF AN
A T T E M P T

TO ASCERTAIN THE
LONGITUDE AT SEA,

BY AN
EXACT THEORY of the VARIATION of the
MAGNETICAL NEEDLE;

WITH
A Table of Variations at the most remarkable Cities
in EUROPE, from the Year 1660 to 1860.

By ZACHARIAH WILLIAMS.

ESPOSIZIONE

D'UN

SAGGIO

PER AVVERARE LA

LONGITUDINE IN MARE,

COL MEZZO D'UN

**ESATTA TEORIA della VARIAZIONE dell'
AGO MAGNETICO.**

CON

**Una TAVOLA delle VARIAZIONI nelle principali Città
d'EUROPA, dall' Anno 1660 fino all' Anno 1860.**

Di ZACCARIA WILLIAMS.

M 4

AN

A N

A C C O U N T, &c.

IT is well known to seamen and philosophers, that after the numerous improvements produced by the extensive commerce of the later ages, the great defect in the art of sailing is ignorance of longitude, or of the distance to which the ship has passed eastward or westward, from any given meridian.

That navigation might be at length set free from this uncertainty, the legislative power of this kingdom incited the industry of searchers into nature, by a large reward proposed to him who should show a practicable method of finding the longitude at sea; and proportionable recompences to those, who, though they should not fully attain this great end, might yet make such advances and discoveries as should facilitate the work to those that might succeed them.

By the splendor of this golden encouragement many eyes were dazzled, which nature never intended to pry
into

ESPOSIZIONE.

BENCHE' numerosi sieno i progressi, che l'estensivocommercio degli ultimi andati secoli ci ha fatti fare nell' arte nautica, tuttavia è noto a' marinai non meno che a' filosofi, che il gran difetto di quest' arte è l' ignoranza della longitudine, o sia distanza d'una nave che da qualunque dat o meridiano veleggia verso oriente, o verso occidente.

Per isgombrare questa incertezza dalla navigazione, la legislatura di questo regno ha stimolata l' industria degli scrutinatori della natura con un' ampia ricompensa proposta a chiunque mostrerà uno eseguibile metodo di trovare la longitudine in mare; e proporzionati premi anche a coloro, che non iscoprendola pienamente, faranno però tali avvanzamenti da facilitarne l'intera scoperta a' loro fuccessori.

Dallo splendore di quest' aureo incoraggiamento furono abbagliati molti, che natura non intese mai di aver qualificati

into her secrets. By the hope of sudden riches many understandings were set on work very little proportioned to their strength, among whom whether mine shall be numbered, must be left to the candour of posterity: for I, among others, laid aside the business of my profession, to apply myself to the study of the longitude, not indeed in expectation of the reward due to a complete discovery; yet not without hopes, that I might be considered as an assistant to some greater genius, and receive from the justice of my country the wages offered to an honest and not unsuccessful labourer in science.

Considering the various means by which this important enquiry has been pursued, I found that the observation of the eclipses, either of the primary or secondary planets, being possible but at certain times, could be of no use to the sailor; that the motions of the moon had been long attended, however accurately, without any consequence; that other astronomical observations were difficult and uncertain with every advantage of situation, instruments and knowledge; and were therefore utterly impracticable to the sailor, tost upon the water, ill provided with instruments, and not very skilful in their application.

The hope of an accurate clock or time-keeper is more specious. But when I begun these studies, no movements had yet been made that were not evidently inaccurate and uncertain: and even of the mechanical labours which I now hear so loudly celebrated, when I consider the obstruction of movements by friction, the

ificati abbastanza perchè avessero a spiare ne' di lei arcani; e l'avidità di subitana ricchezza fece intraprendere a molti un'opera troppo alle lor forze sproporzionata. Se io debba esser pure nella classe di costoro annoverato la candida posterità dovrà esserne giudice; che anch'io fra gli altri, abbandonate le faccende della mia professione, mi sono applicato allo studio della longitudine, non certamente sull'aspettativa del premio dovuto a una totale scoperta, ma sibbene con qualche speranza di poter essere considerato come un assistente di qualche genio maggiore, e di poter ricevere dalla giustizia della mia patria quella remunerazione offerta ad ogni onesto, e non del tutto infruttuoso coltivatore di scienza.

Considerando i vari mezzi pe' quali quest'importante ricerca è stata fino ad ora seguita, io trovai che l'osservazione delle eclissi tanto de' primari che de' secondari pianeti, non essendo possibile che in certi tempi, non poteva riuscire di uso alcuno al navigante; trovai che i moti della luna erano stati con lunga cura, ma con poco profitto esaminati; e che altre astronomiche osservazioni riuscirono fin ora malagevoli ed incerte ancorchè fatte con ogni vantaggio di situazione, di strumenti, e di sapere; e conseguentemente affatto impraticabili per un marinajo agitato dall'onde, mal provvisto di strumenti, e sempre mal esperto nel modo di farne il debito uso.

Più speciosa è la lusinga di poter riuscire a fare un accurato oriuolo, o altra giusta misura del tempo. Nuladimeno quand'io mi volsi dapprima a questi studi, nessun movimento era per anche stato trovato, che non fosse manifestamente inaccurato ed incerto. E quand'io considero i molti ostacoli, che lo stropicciamento può cagionare;

waste of their parts by attrition, the various pressure of the atmosphere, the effects of different effluvia upon metals, the power of heat and cold upon all matter, the changes of gravitation and the hazard of concussion, I cannot but fear that they will supply the world with another instance of fruitless ingenuity, though I hope they will not leave upon this country the reproach of unrewarded diligence.

I saw therefore nothing on which I could fix with probability of success, but the magnetical needle, an instrument easily portable, and little subject to accidental injuries, with which the sailor has had a long acquaintance, which he will willingly study, and can easily consult.

The magnetic needle from the year 1300, when it is generally supposed to have been first applied by *Jab Goia* of *Amalphi*, to the seaman's use, seems to have been long thought to point exactly to the north and south by the navigators of those times; who sailing commonly on the calm Mediterranean, or making only short voyages, had no need of very accurate observations; and who, if they ever transiently observed any deviations from the meridian, either ascribed them to some extrinsic and accidental cause, or willingly neglected what it was not necessary to understand.

But when the discovery of the new world turned the attention of mankind upon the naval sciences, and long courses required greater niceties of practice, the variation

cagionare; e come per attrizione le parti possano guastarsi; e il vario premere dell' atmosfera, o gli effetti de' differenti effluvj sopra i metalli; e come il caldo e il freddo operino sopra ogni materia, e i cambiamenti della gravitazione, e i rischi della concussione, io non posso non temere che le meccaniche invenzioni tanto in oggi celebrate non suppliscano il mondo con novelle prove d' infruttuosa fatica, comechè io spero, che questa patria non vorrà incorrere la taccia d' aver lasciata senza il dovuto premio l' ingegnosa diligenza.

Io non potetti dunque dapprima scorgere altra cosa a cui volger la mente con probabilità di successo, se non se l' ago magnetico, strumento agevole a portarsi, a pochi accidenti sottoposto, e da gran tempo sì familiare al navigante, ch' e' lo studia di buona voglia, e lo può consultare con facilità.

L' ago magnetico, che nell' anno 1300 generalmente si suppone sia stato per la prima fiata applicato da *Giovanni Goja* d' amalfi agli usi marinareschi, pare sia stato giudicato da' naviganti di que' tempi esatto nell' additare il settentrione, e il mezzodì; poichè veleggiando essi per lo più nel calmo Mediterraneo, o imprendendo soltanto corti viaggi, non aveano d'uopo di molto accurate osservazioni; e se pure avveniva che transitoriamente si notasse qualche deviazione dal meridiano, o s' ascriveva a qualche estrinseca o accidental causa, o si trascurava volentiermente l' esame di ciò che non veniva riputato necessario ad intendersi.

Ma quando la scoperta d' un nuovo mondo rivolse l' attenzione degli uomini verso le scienze navali, e che lunghi viaggi richiedettero maggiori esattezze di pratica,
la

tion of the needle soon became observable, and was recorded in 1500 by *Sebastian Cabot*, a *Portuguese*, who, at the expence of the king of *England*, discovered the northern coasts of *America*.

As the next century was a time of naval adventures, it might be expected that the variation once observed, should have been well studied: yet it seems to have been little heeded; for it was supposed to be constant, and always the same in the same place, till in 1625 *Gellibrand* noted its changes, and published his observations.

From this time the philosophical world had a new subject of speculation, and the students of magnetism employed their researches upon the gradual changes of the needle's direction, or the variations of the variation, which have hitherto appeared so desultory and capricious, as to elude all the schemes which the most fanciful of the philosophical dreamers could devise for its explication. Any system that could have united these tormenting diversities they seem inclined to have received, and would have contentedly numbered the revolutions of a central magnet, with very little concern about its existence, could they have assigned it any motion or vicissitude of motions which would have corresponded with the changes of the needle.

Yet, upon this secret property of magnetism I ventured to build my hopes of ascertaining the longitude at sea. I found it undeniably certain that the needle varies its direction in a course eastward or westward between any assignable parallels of latitude: and supposing
nature

la variazione dell' ago divenne bentosto osservabile, e fu mentovata fin nell' anno 1500 da *Sebastiano Cabot* Portoghese che a spese del re d' Inghilterra scoprì la costa settentrionale d' America.

Chi non si farebbe aspettato, che la variazione osservata una volta non dovesse esser poi bene studiata nel susseguente secolo, che fu un secolo, di maritime avventure? Tuttavia egli appare che poca mente fosse a ciò posta, poichè si suppose costante e sempre la stessa in uno stesso luogo finchè nel 1625 *Gellibrando* ne notò i cangiamenti nelle osservazioni da lui pubblicate.

Da tal tempo in poi il mondo filosofico ebbe un nuovo argomento di speculazione, e gli studenti di magnetismo rivolsero le loro ricerche su i cangiamenti gradualì della direzione dell' ago, o sulla variazione della variazione, che fino al tempo loro era apparsa così fallace e capricciosa da eludere gli schemmi tutti, che da fantastici filosofici sognatori furono per ispiegarli divinati. Ogni qualunque sistema farebbono essi stati volenterosi d' addottare, se uno se ne fosse potuto rinvenire atto a riconciliare queste perplesse difficoltà; nè avrebbero rifiutato di numerare le rivoluzioni d' una calamita centrale, senza darli pensiero intorno alla sua esistenza, se avessero potuto a quella assegnare qualche moto, o vicissitudine di moto corrispondente a' cangiamenti dell' ago.

Eppure fu questa segreta proprietà della calamita io m' avventurai a fondare le mie speranze d' avverare la longitudine in mare. Trovai essere cosa innegabilmente certa, che l' ago varia la sua direzione in ogni corso verso levante, o verso ponente in mezzo ad ogni due dati paralleli

nature to be in this as in all other operations uniform and consistent, I doubted not but the variation proceeded in some established method, though perhaps too abstruse and complicated for human comprehension.

This difficulty however was to be encountered; and by close and steady perseverance of attention I at last subdued, or thought myself to have subdued it; having formed a regular system in which all the phenomena seemed to be reconciled; and being able from the variation in places where it is known to trace it to those where it is unknown; or from the past to predict the future: and consequently knowing the latitude and variation, to assign the true longitude of any place.

With this system I came to *London*, where having laid my proposals before a number of ingenious gentlemen, it was agreed that during the time required to the completion of my experiments, I should be supported by a joint subscription to be repaid out of the reward, to which they concluded me entitled. Among the subscribers was Mr. *Rowley*, the memorable constructor of the orrery; and among my favourers was the Lord *Piesley*, a title not unknown among magnetical philosophers. I frequently shewed upon a globe of brass, experiments by which my system was confirmed, at the house of Mr. *Rowley*, where the learned and curious of that time generally assembled.

paralleli di latitudine ; e supponendo la natura consistente-
mente uniforme in questa sua operazione come lo è in
tutte l' altre, io non dubitai punto, che la variazione non
procedesse con qualche stabilito metodo quantunque
forse astruso e complicato oltre la capacità d' ogni umano
intendimento.

Di questa difficoltà nulladimeno non si poteva evitar
l' incontro, onde con risoluta e perseverante attenzione
la foggiai finalmente, o credetti d' averla foggaiata,
avendo formato un regular sistema, con cui mi parve d'
aver riconciliati insieme tutti i differenti fenomeni, e po-
tendo dedurre la variazione in que' luoghi dove non è
conosciuta da quelli dove già lo è, o dal passato predire
il futuro, e conseguentemente, conoscendo la latitudine
e variazione, d' assegnare la vera longitudine d' ogni
qualunque luogo.

Con questo sistema io me ne venni a *Londra*, dove
avendo esposti a diversi studiosi signori i miei program-
mi, eglino convennero che durante il tempo necessario
per compiere i miei esperimenti io farei stato sovvenuto
con una loro sottoscrizione, da esser poi loro rimborsata
quando toccassi quella ricompensa, della quale essi m'
ebbero per giusto pretendere. Fra' miei sottoscrittenti
annoverossi il Signor *Rowley* celebre costruttore dell'
Orreri ; ed uno de' miei fautori fu il Lord *Piesley*, il di
cui nome non è ignoto a' filosofi magnetici. Feci fre-
quenti sperimenti sopra un globo d' bronzo, pe' quali il
mio sistema fu confermato in casa il Signor *Rowley*, dove
i letterati e i curiosi di quel tempo soleano sovente
ragunarsi.

At this time great expectations were raised by Mr. *Whiston*, of ascertaining the longitude by the inclination of the needle, which he supposed to increase or diminish regularly. With this learned man I had many conferences, in which I endeavoured to evince what he has at last confessed in the narrative of his life, the uncertainty and inefficacy of his method.

About the year 1729, my subscribers explained my pretensions to the Lords of the Admiralty, and the Lord *Torrington* declared my claim just to the reward assigned in the last clause of the act to those who should make discoveries conducive to the perfection of the art of sailing. This he pressed with so much warmth, that the commissioners agreed to lay my tables before Sir *Isaac Newton*, who excused himself, by reason of his age, from a regular examination: but when he was informed that I held the variation at *London* to be still encreasing; which he and the other philosophers, his pupils, thought to be then stationary, and on the point of regression, he declared that he believed my system visionary. I did not much murmur to be for a time overborn by that mighty name, even when I believed that the name only was against me: and I have lived till I am able to produce, in my favour, the testimony of time, the inflexible enemy of false hypotheses; the only testimony which it becomes human understanding to oppose to the authority of *Newton*.

My notions have indeed been since treated with equal superciliousness by those who have not the same title to

con-

Grande fu l' aspettativa che in tal tempo venne mossa dal Signor *Whiston*, ch' e' potesse determinare la longitudine per via della inclinazion dell' ago da lui supposta crescere o diminuire regolarmente. Con questo dotto uomo io ebbi molte conferenze, nelle quali procurai di mostrare quanto egli ha poi finalmente confessato nel racconto della sua vita, cioè l' incertezza e l' inefficacia del suo metodo.

Nell' anno 1729 i miei sottoscrittenti esposero le mie pretese a' Lordi dell' Ammiragliato, e il Lord *Torrington* dichiarò che io aveva diritto al premio assegnato, nell'ultima clausola dell' atto, a coloro, che faceessero scoperte conducive alla perfezione dell' arte nautica. Egli insistette su questo con tanto calore, che i commissari convennero di sottoporre le mie tavole all' esame del Cavaliere *Isacco Newton*, il quale addusse la sua troppo avanzata età per iscusarsi dal regolarmente esaminarle. Ma quando poi fu informato che io teneva per fermo la variazione di *Londra* esser tuttavia crescente, che egli con altri filosofi suoi discepoli pensava fosse allora stazionaria e sul punto di regressione, dichiarò di credere il mio sistema visionario. Nè mi dolli io troppo di essere per alcun tempo soverchiato dalla grandezza di quel nome, comechè io fossi pienamente persuaso, che null' altro che quel nome militava contra di me: ed ecco, che ho pur visto tanto da poter proddurre in mio favore il testimonio del tempo, inflessibil nemico d' ogni falsa ipotesi, e il solo testimonio che l' umana mente ha dritto d' opporre all' autorità di *Newton*.

Le mie nozioni furono quindi guardate con equal sopraciglio da certuni, che molto minor dritto aveano di

confidence of decision ; men who, though perhaps very learned in their own studies, have had little acquaintance with mine. Yet even this may be born far better than the petulance of boys whom I have seen shoot up into philosophers by experiments which I have long since made and neglected, and by improvements which I have so long transferred into my ordinary practice, that I cannot remember when I was without them.

When Sir *Isaac Newton* had declined the office assigned him, it was given to Mr. *Molineux*, one of the commissioners of the Admiralty, who engaged in it with no great inclination to favour me ; but however thought one of the instruments, which, to confirm my own opinion, and to confute Mr. *Whiston's*, I had exhibited to the Admiralty, so curious or useful, that he surreptitiously copied it on paper, and clandestinely endeavoured to have it imitated by a workman for his own use.

This treatment naturally produced remonstrances and altercations, which indeed did not continue long, for Mr. *Molineux* died soon afterwards ; and my proposals were for a time forgotten.

I will not however accuse him of designing to condemn me, without a trial ; for he demanded a portion of my tables to be tried in a voyage to *America*, which I then thought I had reason to refuse him, not yet knowing how difficult it was to obtain, on any terms, an actual examination.

About this time the theory of Dr. *Halley* was the chief subject of mathematical conversation ; and though I
could

decidere di me con pari alterezza, non essendo per avventura bastevolmente versati negli studi da me intrapresi, come che versatissimi in altri d' altro genere, Pure questa soverchieria mi sembrò meno grave a sopportare che la petulanza di certi fanciulli, che si vantano gran filosofanti o per aver visti esperimenti da me da lungo tempo fatti e negletti, o per trovarsi capaci d' intender cose in me per lung' uso tanto immedesimate, che non potrei nè tampoco fissar l' epoca del mio averle acquistate.

Quando il Cavaliere *Newton* ebbe declinato l' impegno, il Signor *Molineux* uno de' commissari dell' Ammiragliato fu incaricato del suddetto esame. Questi assunse la cosa con molto poca inclinazione d' essermi favorevole; tuttavia giudicò sì curioso ed utile insieme uno degli stromenti da me recati innanzi l' Ammiragliato per confermare la mia opinione, e confutare quella del Signor *Whiston*, che se lo copiò furtivamente in carta, e di nascoso procurò di farne fare un simile da un artefice per suo uso.

Un trattamento di tal fatta produsse naturalmente rimostanze ed altercazioni, che non durarono però troppo, conciossiachè il Signor *Molineux* morì poco dopo, e i miei programmi furono per un tempo mandati in obbligo.

Non è però, ch' io pensi ch' egli volesse condannarmi senza processo, che anzi mi richiese una parte delle mie tavole per provarle in un viaggio d' *America*, il che io allora pensai aver ragione di rifiutare, non conoscendo peranco quanto ardua cosa è l' ottenere un attuale esame a qualche patto.

Verso tal tempo la teoria del Dottore *Halley* era il soggetto principale d' ogni matematica confabulazione; e

could not but consider him as too much a rival to be appealed to as a judge, yet his reputation determined me to solicit his acquaintance and hazard his opinion. I was introduced to him by Mr. *Lowthorp* and Dr. *Desaguliers*, and put my tables into his hands; which, after having had them about twenty days under consideration, he returned in the presence of the learned Mr. *Machin*, and many other skilful men, with an entreaty *that I would publish them speedily; for I should do infinite service to mankind.*

It is one of the melancholy pleasures of an old man to recollect the kindness of friends, whose kindness he shall experience no more. I have now none left to favour my studies; and therefore naturally turn my thoughts on those by whom I was favoured in better days: and I hope the vanity of age may be forgiven, when I declare that I can boast among my friends, almost every name of my time that is now remembered: and that in that great period of mathematical competition scarce any man failed to appear as my defender, who did not appear as my antagonist.

By these friends I was encouraged to exhibit to the Royal Society, an ocular proof of the reasonableness of my theory by a sphere of iron, on which a small compass moved in various directions, exhibited no imperfect system of magnetical attraction. The experiment was shown by Mr. *Hawkesbee*, and the explanation, with which it was accompanied, was read by Dr. *Mortimer*. I received the thanks of the society: and was solicited to reposit my theory properly sealed and attested among their archives, for the information of posterity. I am informed, that this whole transaction is recorded in their minutes.

quantunque io non poteffi che temerlo troppo rivale per eleggermelo da me fteffo per giudice, pure la fua fama mi fe rifolvere a procurarmi la fua conofcenza, e correre il rifchio della fua opinione. Fui introddotto a lui dal Signor *Lowthorp* e dal Dottore *Defaguliers*; e nelle di lui mani pofi le mie tavole, che dopo d' aver confiderate circa venti dì, egli mi rendette in prefenza del dotto Signor *Machine* di altri pregievoli uomini, pregandomi *ch' io voleffi tofto pubblicarle, che avrei fatto infinito fervigio al genere umano.*

Gli è uno de' melanconici piaceri d' un gramo vecchierello il richiamare alla mente quegli amici, della cordialità de' quali e' non potrà più far pruova! Neffuno ho io più che favorifca i miei ftudi, onde la memoria mia naturalmente volgefì a quelli che un tratto già li favorivano! trovi venia la mia canuta e à fe io non refitto alla vani à di dire che io annoverai fra' miei amici quafi ognuno di coloro, i cui nomi ancora oggidì fi rammentano; e che, nel corfo del maggior periodo di competizione matematica, quafi ogni dotto che non apparve come mio antagonifta moftroffi mio campione.

Da quefti amici fui io incoraggito ad esibire alla Società Reale una prova oculare della razione della mia teoria con una sfera d'ferro, fopra la quale un picciolo compaffo, moffo in varie direzioni, offeriva un non imperfetto fiftema di magnetica attrazione. L' efperimento fu fatto dal Signor *Hawkefbee*, e la fpiegazione da cui era accompagnato fu letta dal Dottore *Mortimer*. La focietà me ne refè grazie, ed io fui follecitato a riporre la mia teoria debitamente fuggellata ed atteftata ne' loro archivi per informazione de' pofteri, e fono afficurato che tutta quefta tranfazione è ricordata nelle loro minute.

After this I withdrew from public notice, and applied myself wholly to the continuation of my experiments, the confirmation of my system, and the completion of my tables, with no other companion than Mr. Gray, who shared all my studies and amusements, and used to repay my communications of magnetism, with his discoveries in electricity. Thus I proceeded with incessant diligence; and perhaps in the zeal of enquiry did not sufficiently reflect on the silent encroachments of time, or remember, that no man is in more danger of doing little, than he who flatters himself with abilities to do all. When I was forced out of my retirement, I came loaded with the infirmities of age, to struggle with the difficulties of a narrow fortune, cut off by the blindness of my daughter, from the only assistance which I ever had; deprived by time of my patrons and friends, a kind of stranger in a new world, where curiosity is now diverted to other objects, and where, having no means of ingratiating my labours, I stand the single votary of an obsolete science, the scoff of puny pupils of puny philosophers.

In this state of dereliction and depression, I have bequeathed to posterity the following table: which, if time shall verify my conjectures, will shew that the variation was once known; and that mankind had once within their reach an easy method of discovering the longitude.

I will not however engage to maintain, that all my numbers are theoretically and minutely exact: I have not endeavoured at such degrees of accuracy as only
distract

Dopo di ciò io m' involai agli occhi del pubblico, ed applicai interamente a continuare i miei esperimenti, a confermare il mio sistema, ed a compiere le mie tavole con nessun altro compagno che il Signor Gray, che di tutti i miei studi ed intertenimenti partecipava, usando risarmi di quanto magnetismo comunicavo a lui con le sue scoperte in elettricità. Così andai io innanzi con incessante diligenza: e forse il zelo del ricercare mi ritenne dal bastevolmente riflettere alle taciturne usurpazioni del tempo, e dal rimembrare che niuno è più in rischio di far poco che colui il quale confidando troppo nelle proprie abilità si lusinga di poter far tutto. Sicchè quando io fui tratto a forza dal luogo del mio ritiro, men venni, carico de' mali che i troppi anni cagionano, a lottare con le difficoltà d' una troppo parca fortuna, privo per la cecità di mia figlia della sola assistenza che avessi mai, spogliato dal tempo d' ogni fautore e d' ogni amico, e poco men che straniero in un nuovo mondo; la cui curiosità è ora divertita da altri oggetti, ed a cui io non ho mezzi da rendere accette le mie fatiche; un mondo in somma dove io son rimasto il solo votario d' una obsoleta scienza, scherno di vani scolaretti, e di filosofantucci pur ora nati.

Così derelitto, e depresso io lego e lascio alla posterità la seguente tavola, la quale, se le mie congetturre verranno dal tempo verificate, mostrerà che la variazione fu un tempo nota, e che gli uomini ebbero un tempo in lor potere uno agevol metodo di scoprire la longitudine.

Non è però ch' io voglia assicurare tutti i miei numeri essere teoreticamente e minutamente esatti. Nè mi sono io proposto quella sottile accuratezza che fa più danno

distract enquiry without benefiting practice. The quantity of the variation has been settled partly by instruments, and partly by computation: instruments must always partake of the imperfection of the eyes and hands of those that make, and of those that use them: and computation, till it has been rectified by experiment, is always in danger of some omission in the premises, or some error in the deduction.

It must be observed, in the use of this table, that though I name particular cities for the sake of exciting attention, yet the tables are adjusted only to longitude and latitude. Thus when I predict that at Prague, the variation will in the year 1800 be $24 \frac{1}{4}$ W. I intend to say that it will be such if Prague be as I have placed it after the best geographers in longitude, $14^{\circ} 30'$ E. latitude $50^{\circ} 40'$. but that this is its true situation I cannot be certain. The latitude of many places is unknown, and the longitude is known of very few; and even those who are unacquainted with science will be convinced that it is not easily to be found, when they are told how many degrees Dr. *Halley*, and the French mathematicians, place the *Cape of Good Hope* distant from each other.

Those who would pursue this enquiry with philosophical nicety, must likewise procure better needles than those commonly in use. The needle, which after long experience I recommend to mariners, must be of pure steel, the spines and the cap of one piece, the whole length three inches, each spine containing four grains and a half of steel, and the cap thirteen grains and a half.

The

danno alla ricerca che non utile alla pratica. Le quantità della variazione furono affestate parte con istromenti, e parte per computazione. Ogni istromento sempre dee partecipare dell' imperfezione degli occhi, e delle mani di colui che il fabbrica, o che lo usa; e la computazione, fin tanto che non è rettificata dallo sperimento, è sempre in pericolo di qualche ommissione nelle premesse, o di qualche errore nella deduzione.

Offervisi poi nell' uso di questa tavola, che quantunque io nomini particolari città per poter eccitare l' altrui attenzione, pure le tavole sono accomodate soltanto a longitudine, e latitudine. Così quando io predico che a Praga nell' anno 1800 la variazione farà 24 $\frac{1}{4}$. Ponente, io intendo dire che farà tale se Praga è, come io sull' autorità de' meglio geografi l' ho posta, in longitudine 14 30'. Levante, e in latitudine 50 40'; ma che tale sia la sua vera situazione io non posso averne certezza. La latitudine di molti luoghi è ignota, e la longitudine si sa di molto pochi. Ed anche coloro che non fanno che cosa è scienza si convinceranno che non è facil cosa il trovarla se farà lor detto quanti gradi il Dottore *Halley* e i matematici Francesi mettano il Capo di Buona Speranza distante l' uno dagli altri.

Coloro, che vorranno proseguire questa ricerca con filosofica esattezza, deono altresì procurare migliori aghi di quelli comunemente usati. L' ago che dopo una lunga speriencia io raccomando a' marinai debb' essere di puro acciaio, le lame e il concavo tutto d' un pezzo, la total lunghezza soltanto tre pollici, ciascuna lama composta di solo quattro grani e mezzo d' acciaio, e il concavo tredici grani e mezzo.

Gli

The common needles are so ill formed, or so unskilfully suspended, that they are affected by many causes besides magnetism: and among other inconveniencies have given occasion to the idle dream of a horary variation.

I doubt not but particular places may produce exceptions to my system. There may be, in many parts of the earth, bodies which obstruct or intercept the general influence of magnetism; but those interruptions do not infringe the theory. It is allowed, that water will run down a declivity, though sometimes a strong wind may force it upwards. It is granted, that the sun gives light at noon, though in certain conjunctions it may suffer an eclipse.

Those causes, whatever they are, that interrupt the course of the magnetical powers, are least likely to be found in the great ocean, when the earth, with all its minerals, is secluded from the compass by the vast body of uniform water. So that this method of finding the longitude, with a happy contrariety to all others, is most easy and practicable at sea.

This method, therefore, I recommend to the study and prosecution of the sailor and philosopher; and the appendant specimen I exhibit to the candid examination of the maritime nations, as a specimen of a general table, shewing the variation at all times and places for the whole revolution of the magnetic poles, which I have long ago begun, and, with just encouragement, should have long ago compleated.

REFLEC.

Gli aghi comuni sono così mal formati, o così ignorantemente sospesi, che sono soggetti a molti altri sconcerti oltre al magnetismo; e fra l'altre inconvenienze hanno fatto scioccamente sognare a certuni una variazione oraria.

Io non dubito punto che certi particolari luoghi non possano produrre eccezioni al mio sistema. In molte parti della terra possono trovarsi corpi che possono diminuire o impedire la generale influenza del magnetismo. Ma tali interrompimenti non s'oppongono alla mia teoria generale. Ella è cosa concessa che l'acqua vuol correre giù d'una declività quantunque alcuna volta un vento forte la possa spingere all'insù; e che il sole irradia sul mezzo giorno, benchè in certe congiunzioni possa soffrire una eclissi.

Quelle cause, checchè esse si sieno, che interrompono il corso delle magnetiche qualità, più di rado s'incontreranno nell'ampio oceano, dove la terra con tutti i suoi minerali è seclusa dalla bussola da un vasto corpo d'acqua uniforme; così che questo metodo di trovar la longitudine, in ciò fortunatamente diverso da tutti gli altri, è più praticabile in mare.

Io raccomando adunque al cauto navigante, e allo studioso filosofo quel metodo di cui unisco qui un saggio, sottoponendolo al candido esame delle maritime nazioni, come un saggio d'una general tavola che addita la variazione in tutti i tempi e in tutti i luoghi per tutto lo spazio della rivoluzione de' poli magnetici; tavola da me lungo tempo fa cominciata, e che avrei anche lungo tempo fa compiuta se avessi avuta la sorte d'incontrare un giusto incoraggiamento.

* R E F L E C T I O N S
UPON THE STATE OF
P O R T U G A L,

From the Foundation of that Monarchy to the present Time;
Shewing its Connexions with the several European
Powers, and particularly with GREAT-BRITAIN.

*P*ORTUGAL, of all kingdoms in the world, is the most dependent upon *Great-Britain*; and the *British* nation reaps more benefit from *Portugal*, than from any other country: upon which account, it is an interesting subject to shew the state of *Portugal*, and its connexions with *Great-Britain*.

Portugal, as well as *Spain*, fell under the dominion of the *Moors*, in the reign of *Roderic* the last king of the *Gothic* line: but, in 1093, *Alphonso VI.* king of *Castile* and *Leon*, established *Henry*, one of the princes of *Burgundy*, upon the throne of *Portugal*; whose son *Alphonso* obtained a complete victory over the five *Moorish* kings;

* From the Universal Visiter, Feb. 1756.

in remembrance of which, five standards are, to this day, borne in the arms of *Portugal*. By the assistance of a fleet from the *Netherlands*, he took *Lisbon*, in 1147, and rendered the crown hereditary in his family. From his death, to that of *Ferdinand*, in 1383, there were eight princes; but with him ended the race of the first kings of *Portugal*; and the crown came to *John*, the natural son of king *Peter*, who was the predecessor of *Ferdinand*. *Sebastian* was the sixth in descent from *John*; and was so fond of fame, that he undertook an expedition in favour of *Muley Mabomet*, king of *Morocco*, whom his brother *Muley Molluco* had drove from his dominions: but *Sebastian* was defeated at *Alcacer* in *Africa*, in 1578, in a battle remarkable for the death of three kings on the field; *Sebastian*, and *Muley Mabomet*, being slain in the action, while *Muley Molluco* died of a fever during the engagement. *Sebastian* was succeeded by his uncle *Henry*, who died in 1580, when *Philip II.* of *Spain* invaded *Portugal*, which he united to *Castile*: but, in 1640, the *Portuguese* nobility shook off the *Spanish* yoke, and proclaimed the duke of *Braganza* king, by the name of *John IV.* who had a visible right to the crown, and was in possession of a fourth part of the kingdom, which he bravely defended against the *Spaniards*, who, in 1668, gave up all pretensions to *Portugal*; and his present *Portuguese* majesty is the great grandson of *John IV.*

There is scarce a state in *Europe*, having the title of a kingdom, and a peculiar king, of less extent than *Portugal*, even including the little kingdom of *Algarva*, which was added to it in the reign of *Alphonso III.* about the year 1246, as the portion of his wife *Beatrice*, daughter

daughter of *Alphonso* king of *Castile*; but there are few countries which have so extensive a commerce, or that prosecute trade with greater reputation. Its great conquests in both the *Indies*, its establishments in several parts of the coasts of *Africa*, and its possession of the *Madeira*, *Azores*, and *Cape-Verd* islands, had for a considerable time supported this commerce; and its original splendor might still have been preserved, if *Portugal* had not been unhappily annexed to *Spain*. For the *Portuguese* were dispossessed of several places by the *Dutch*; and, though they afterwards repossessed themselves of *Brazil*, and were restored to most of their forts and establishments on the *African* coast, yet they could never afterwards properly re-establish themselves in the *East-Indies*.

It was *John II.* who died in 1495, that laid the foundation of the trade of *Portugal*, by forming a project for the navigation to the *East-Indies*, which was accomplished in the reign of his successor *Emanuel*: and, in 1500, *Brazil* was accidentally discovered by *Peter Alvarez Cabralis*: so that such immense riches were brought into *Portugal*, during the reign of *Emanuel*, that it has been usually called, *The golden age*. But the fatal stroke to the *Portuguese* trade was struck before the line of *Braganza* ascended the throne; and *John IV.* was obliged to make peace with the *Dutch*, in 1661, after they had taken *Malacca*, and all on the coasts of *Ceylon* and *Coromandel*, together with *Cananor*, and other places on the coast of *Malabar*. *Peter*, who began his reign in 1683, would not sit a tame spectator in the disputes which arose on account of the *Spanish* succession; but he received

no benefit for his trouble: and his successor, *John V.* became sensible that it was his immediate interest to study the promotion of trade, and avoid engaging in any of the quarrels which might embroil the other *European* powers; while he took care to observe a strict neutrality.

Though the trade of *Portugal* is at present very considerable, it is nothing in comparison to what it was formerly, when all the riches of the *Persian Gulph*, *Arabia*, the states of the *Moghol*, the other coasts of *India*, *China*, *Japan*, and all the islands of that vast part of the ocean, were assembled at *Goa*, the capital of the *Portuguese* conquests in the *East-Indies*, and arrived at *Lisbon* in numerous fleets, to be from thence distributed among all the nations of *Europe* by the hands of the *Portuguese* alone. However, the trade to the *Brazils* is still very great, and carried on solely by the *Portuguese* themselves, who discovered the first mine of gold there, in 1680; and after this, many others were found, that have prodigiously enriched the *European* world, as they furnish 5,000,000*l.* sterling of gold every year, a fifth of which belongs to the king. The diamond mines are farmed by his *Portuguese* majesty to a company at *Rio Janeiro*, for the annual rent of 138,000 crusadoes, or 26,000*l.* sterling: and the *Brazil* wood also produces to the value of 30,000*l.* annually. But this treasure is dissipated among the other *European* powers, who furnish *Portugal* with the most considerable articles of trade; particularly the *English*, *Dutch*, *French*, and *Hamburgers*.

Portugal is pleasantly situated on the coast of the *Atlantic* ocean, about 300 miles in length from north to
O south,

south, and generally about 100 miles in breadth from east to west. The climate is very fine; and the air is esteemed as wholesome as any in *Europe*, notwithstanding it lies so far south, the great heats being commonly tempered by the sea-breeze. The country is fruitful, especially its vallies, and many of its plains, in wine, oil, fruits, and grain: but their crops of the latter are of all the most uncertain, and particularly for wheat; of which grain, the great city of *Lisbon* never received, even in the most favourable years, more than a third part of the native growths for its annual consumption; and near the same proportion is wanting of barley, for the feeding of their cattle.

It will take up too much time, at present, to enter into a discussion of the general trade of *Portugal* with other countries; but it is requisite to make a few observations upon the trade between it and *Great-Britain*; as also to shew how necessary it is for *Great-Britain* to manifest a friendship for *Portugal*.

The *Portuguese* principally depend on the succours and supplies of other nations, both for their protection and subsistence. Their native poverty was so great on the discovery of their gold mines, that they would have found it impossible to have worked them, but from the credit given by other countries, and particularly *Great-Britain*, in the necessary commodities for that purpose. As their returns of bullion augmented, their credit from the *British* nation, and, by degrees, from all other countries, grew greater: and, though now considerably enriched themselves, they still work their very mines, carry on almost all their colony commerce, and much of their

home trade, with foreign capitals. For they are trusted with all kinds of traffic till the returns come round: in-
 somuch that the merchants of other countries not only
 stand the disburse of the cost of their goods, and the
 charges of transporting them to *Portugal*, but also of the
 duties, till the returns for them arrive.

Portugal pays a great ballance in specie to the coun-
 tries up the *Baltic*; as also to the *United Provinces*, *France*,
 and *Italy*. The *Portugueze* even pay a ballance to *Spain*:
 but no nation is more essential in commerce to them
 than *Great-Britain*, who furnishes them with the neces-
 saries of life, and chiefly receives articles of luxury. The
 treaty made between queen *Anne*, and *Peter II.* of *Por-
 tugal*, is sufficient to shew the necessity of a proper un-
 derstanding, and perpetual friendship, between both
 crowns: for *Portugal* is thereby for ever to admit the
 woollen manufactures of the *Britons*; and *Great-Britain*
 is to admit the wines of *Portugal*, for one-third less duty
 than the wines of *France*. It will be attended with too
 much prolixity to enumerate all the articles of trade im-
 ported and exported between both countries: they are
 reciprocally advantageous; and the ballance is greatly
 in favour of *Great-Britain*, whose interest it is to pro-
 tect *Portugal*, and the *Portugueze* are sensible how much
 they ought to rely on the friendship of the *British* nation.

Indeed, *Portugal* once seemed blind to her own inter-
 est: for king *Peter*, when the *Spanish* succession was dis-
 puted, at first sided with the duke of *Anjou*; by conclud-
 ing a treaty with *France*, whereby he agreed to acknow-
 ledge *Philip V.* as king of *Spain*; and that no shelter
 should be given in the *Portugueze* ports, to *English* or

Dutch, in case of their declaring for the archduke, nor any attempts of theirs against the two crowns be seconded in *Portugal*. *France* was to give the king of *Portugal* a subsidy; and to assist in recovering the *Isle of Ceylon* from the *Dutch*. But these engagements with *France* could not prevail upon the court of *Lisbon* to acknowledge the Pretender for king of *England*; notwithstanding the pressing instances made use of for that purpose. His *Portuguese* majesty soon deserted *France*, and concluded a treaty with the allies: in consequence of which, he assisted the archduke in the conquest of *Spain*. The *Portuguese* troops have been stigmatized for their misbehaviour at the battle of *Almanza*: but this was owing to a young nobility who were unused to arms, and set a bad example to their men, who behaved well when they were incorporated among the *British* soldiers. However, the kingdom of *Portugal* was brought into imminent danger by the treaty of *Utrecht*, which only stipulated a suspension of arms between the *Spaniards* and the *Portuguese*; nor was any treaty concluded between them till the year 1715.

When the king of *Portugal*, in 1709, had formed a project to prevent the extraction of bullion; he was told by Lord *Galway*, “that, according to the distribution
“of things by Providence, riches belong to some na-
“tions, and industry to others; by which means the
“liberality of heaven is made equal to all. That, those
“nations, who are gainers by their trade with *Portugal*,
“thereby become her natural guarantees. That, his
“majesty had powerful enemies, and required power-
“ful friends. That, the ambition of *France* knew no

“ bounds;

“ bounds ; and the pride of *Spain* would teach her to
 “ keep up a perpetual claim to the territories and crown
 “ of *Portugal*. That, his majesty had no recourse to
 “ frustrate those views, and defeat the endeavours of
 “ those potentates, but to the maritime powers. And,
 “ therefore, (his lordship) desired his majesty to confi-
 “ der, that every project to distress them, was in effect
 “ a scheme to destroy himself.”

From that time, the crown of *Portugal* has winked at the extraction of gold and silver. It is necessary she should do so : because, with *Spain* for an hereditary enemy ; and *France* a friend that she dares not trust ; where can *Portugal*, too weak to defend herself, look for an able and trusty ally ? To no where but to *Great-Britain*, which is the only nation that ever has been, can, or will be, the safe, trusty, and honourable supporter of *Portugal*. The *English* generously helped them in their emancipation from the *Spanish* yoke, and have protected them in it ever since. If a squabble happened in *Oliver's* time, it was from an indiscretion of the court of *Portugal*, which they paid heartily for, and, on their becoming wiser, *England* became their friend again. Our *Charles II.* married their Infanta, in preference to all other princesses ; and concluded a treaty with *Alphonso VI.* whereby *Great-Britain* is to succour them in times of need, and particularly with a naval force adequate to the necessity of their demand. In consequence of which, in 1735, *Great-Britain* sent a fleet to protect *Portugal* from the resentment of *Spain*, which cost the *British* government above a million sterling : and it is our duty,

as well as interest; to grant the same protection whenever it is required.

The observance of national faith has always made *Great-Britain* the best friend of *Portugal*; who, in her late dreadful calamity, has seasonably and bountifully experienced the charity and generosity of *Britons*. Our merchants want a confirmation of some privileges in *Portugal*; and his most faithful majesty is readily disposed to oblige them. He is a most amiable and excellent monarch: he consults nothing so much as the happiness of his subjects: and the fatal event that has happened in his metropolis, of *Lisbon*, as well as the other parts of his dominions, has given inexpressible concern to the inhabitants of *London*; and shewn an unprecedented example of the honour, friendship, and humanity of the *British* nation. . . .



A
P R O J E C T
FOR THE
EMPLOYMENT OF AUTHORS*.

TO THE VISITER.

S I R,

I know not what apology to make for the little dissertation which I have sent, and which I will not deny that I have sent with design that you should print it. I know that admonition is very seldom grateful, and that authors are eminently choleric; yet, I hope, that you, and every impartial reader, will be convinced, that I intend the benefit of the public, and the advancement of knowledge; and that every reader, into whose hands this shall happen to fall, will rank himself among those who are to be excepted from general censure.

I am, Sir, your humble servant.

Scire velim quare toties mihi, Nevole, tristis

Occurris fronte obductâ, ceu Marsya victus.

Juv.

THERE is no gift of nature, or effect of art, however beneficial to mankind, which either by casual deviations, or foolish perversions, is not sometimes mis-

* From the Universal Visiter, April, 1756.

chievous. Whatever may be the cause of happiness, may be made likewise the cause of misery. The medicine, which rightly applied, has power to cure, has, when rashness or ignorance prescribes it, the same power to destroy.

I have computed, at some hours of leisure, the loss and gain of *literature*, and set the pain which it produces against the pleasure. Such calculations are indeed at a great distance from mathematical exactness, as they arise from the induction of a few particulars, and from observations made rather according to the temper of the computist, than the nature of things. But such a narrow survey as can be taken, will easily shew that letters cause many blessings, and inflict many calamities; that there is scarcely an individual who may not consider them as immediately or mediately influencing his life, as they are chief instruments of conveying knowledge, and transmitting sentiments; and almost every man learns, by their means, all that is right or wrong in his sentiments and conduct.

If letters were considered only as means of pleasure, it might well be doubted in what degree of estimation they should be held; but when they are referred to necessity, the controversy is at an end: it soon appears, that though they may sometimes incommode us, yet human life would scarcely rise, without them, above the common existence of animal nature: we might indeed breathe and eat in universal ignorance, but must want all that gives pleasure or security, all the embellishments and delights, and most of the conveniencies and comforts of our present condition.

Lite-

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Literature is a kind of intellectual light, which, like the light of the sun, may sometimes enable us to see what we do not like ; but who would wish to escape unpleasing objects, by condemning himself to perpetual darkness ?

Since, therefore, letters are thus indispensably necessary, since we cannot persuade ourselves to lose their benefits for the sake of escaping their mischiefs, it is worth our serious enquiry, how their benefits may be increased, and their mischiefs lessened ; by what means the harvest of our studies may afford us more corn and less chaff ; and how the roses of the gardens of science may gratify us more with their fragrance, and prick us less with their thorns.

I shall not, at present, mention the more formidable evils which the misapplication of literature produces, nor speak of churches infected with heresy, states inflamed with sedition, or schools infatuated with hypothetical fictions. These are evils which mankind have always lamented, and which, till mankind grow wise and modest, they must, I am afraid, continue to lament, without hope of remedy. I shall now touch only on some lighter and less extensive evils, yet such as are sufficiently heavy to those that feel them, and are of late so widely diffused, as to deserve, though perhaps not the notice of the legislature, yet the consideration of those whose benevolence inclines them to a voluntary care of public happiness.

It was long ago observed by *Virgil*, and I suppose by many before him, that *Bees do not make honey for their own use* ; the sweets which they collect in their laborious
excur-

excursions, and store up in their hives with so much skill, are seized by those who have contributed neither toil nor art to the collection; and the poor animal is either destroyed by the invader, or left to shift without a supply. The condition is nearly the same of the gatherer of honey, and the gatherer of knowledge. The *bee* and the *author* work alike for others, and often lose the profit of their labour. The case, therefore, of authors, however hitherto neglected, may claim regard. Every body of men is important according to the joint proportion of their usefulness and their number. Individuals, however they may excel, cannot hope to be considered singly as of great weight in the political balance; and multitudes, though they may, merely by their bulk, demand some notice, are yet not of much value, unless they contribute to ease the burthen of society, by co-operating to its prosperity.

Of the men, whose condition we are now examining, the usefulness never was disputed; they are known to be the great disseminators of knowledge, and guardians of the common-wealth; and of late their number have been so much increased, that they are become a very conspicuous part of the nation. It is not now, as in former times, when men studied long, and past through the severities of discipline, and the probation of public trials, before they presumed to think themselves qualified for instructors of their countrymen; there is found a nearer way to fame and erudition, and the inclosures of literature are thrown open to every man whom idleness disposes to loiter, or whom pride inclines to set himself to view. The sailor publishes his journal, the
farmer

farmer writes the process of his annual labour; he that succeeds in his trade thinks his wealth a proof of his understanding, and boldly tutors the public; he that fails, considers his miscarriage as the consequence of a capacity too great for the business of a shop, and amuses himself in the Fleet with writing or translating. The last century imagined, that a man, composing in his chariot, was a new object of curiosity; but how much would the wonder have been increased by a footman studying behind it? There is now no class of men without its authors, from the peer to the thresher; nor can the sons of literature be confined any longer to *Grub-street* or *Moorfields*; they are spread over all the town and all the country, and fill every stage of habitation from the cellar to the garret.

It is well known, that the price of commodities must always fall as the quantity is increased, and that no trade can allow its professors to be multiplied beyond a certain number. The great misery of writers proceeds from their multitude. We easily perceive that in a nation of clothiers, no man could have any cloth to make but for his own back; that in a community of bakers every man must use his own bread; and what can be the case of a nation of authors, but that every man must be content to read his book to himself? For surely it is vain to hope, that of men labouring at the same occupation, any will prefer the work of his neighbour to his own; yet this expectation, wild as it is, seems to be indulged by many of the writing race, and therefore it can be no wonder, that like all other men who suffer
their

their minds to form inconsiderate hopes, they are harassed and dejected with frequent disappointments.

If I were to form an adage of misery; or fix the lowest point to which humanity could fall, I should be tempted to name the life of an author. Many universal comparisons there are by which misery is expressed. We talk of a man teased like a bear at the stake, tormented like a toad under a harrow, or hunted like a dog with a stick at his tail; all these are indeed states of uneasiness, but what are they to the life of an author! of an author worried by critics, tormented by his bookseller, and hunted by his creditors. Yet such must be the case of many among the retailers of knowledge, while they continue thus to swarm over the land; and whether it be by propagation or contagion, produce new writers to heighten the general distress, to increase confusion, and hasten famine.

Having long studied the varieties of life, I can guess by every man's walk, or air, to what state of the community he belongs. Every man has noted the legs of a taylor, and the gait of a seaman; and a little extension of his physiognomical acquisitions, will teach him to distinguish the countenance of an author. It is my practice, when I am in want of amusement, to place myself for an hour at *Temple-Bar*, or any other narrow pass much frequented, and examine one by one the looks of the passengers; and I have commonly found, that, between the hours of eleven and four, every sixth man is an author. They are seldom to be seen very early in the morning, or late in the evening, but about dinner time they are all in motion, and have one uniform eagerness

giveness in their faces, which gives little opportunity of discerning their hopes or fears, their pleasures or their pains.

But, in the afternoon, when they have all dined, or composed themselves to pass the day without a dinner, their passions have full play, and I can perceive one man wondering at the stupidity of the public, by which his new book has been totally neglected; another cursing the *French* who fright away literary curiosity by their threats of an invasion; another swearing at his bookseller, who will advance no money without copy; another perusing, as he walks, his publisher's bill; another murmuring at an unanswerable criticism; another determining to write no more to a generation of barbarians; and another resolving to try once again, whether he cannot awaken the drowsy world to a sense of his merit.

It sometimes happens, that there may be remarked among them a smile of complacency, or a strut of elevation; but if these favourites of fortune are carefully watched for a few days, they seldom fail to shew the transitoriness of human felicity; the crest falls, the gaiety is ended, and there appear evident tokens of a successful rival, or a fickle patron.

But of all authors, those are the most wretched, who exhibit their productions on the theatre, and who are to propitiate first the manager, and then the public. Many an humble visitant have I followed to the doors of these lords of the drama, seen him touch the knocker with a shaking hand, and, after long deliberation, adventure to solicit entrance by a single knock: but I never staid to see them come out from their audience, because
my

my heart is tender, and being subject to frights in bed, I would not willingly dream of an author.

That the number of authors is disproportionate to the maintainance which the public seems willing to assign them; that there is neither praise nor meat for all who write, is apparent from this; that, like wolves in long winters, they are forced to prey on one another. The *Reviewers* and *Critical Reviewers*, the *Remarkers* and *Examiners*, can satisfy their hunger only by devouring their brethren. I am far from imagining that they are naturally more ravenous or blood-thirsty than those on whom they fall with so much violence and fury; but they are hungry, and hunger must be satisfied; and these savages, when their bellies are full, will fawn on those whom they now bite.

The result of all these considerations amounts only to this, that the number of writers must at last be lessened, but by what method this great design can be accomplished, is not easily discovered. It was lately proposed, that every man who kept a dog should pay a certain tax, which, as the contriver of ways and means very judiciously observed, would either destroy the dogs, or bring in money. Perhaps it might be proper to lay some such tax upon authors, only the payment must be lessened in proportion as the animal, upon which it is raised, is less necessary; for many a man that would pay for his dog, will dismiss his dedicatour. Perhaps, if every one, who employed or harboured an author, was assessed a groat a year, it would sufficiently lessen the nuisance without destroying the species.

But

But no great alteration is to be attempted rashly. We must consider how the authors, which this tax shall exclude from their trade, are to be employed. The nets used in the *berring-fishery* can furnish work but for few, and not many can be employed as labourers at the foundation of the *new bridge*. There must, therefore, be some other scheme formed for their accommodation, which the present state of affairs may easily supply. It is well known, that great efforts have been lately made to man the fleet, and augment the army, and loud complaints are made of useful hands forced away from their families into the service of the crown. This offensive exertion of power may be easily avoided, by opening a few houses for the entertainment of discarded authors who would enter into the service with great alacrity, as most of them are zealous friends of every present government; many of them are men of able bodies and strong limbs, qualified at least as well for the *musket* as the *pen*; they are, perhaps, at present a little emaciated and infebled, but would soon recover their strength and flesh with good quarters and present pay.

There are some reasons for which they may seem particularly qualified for a military life. They are used to suffer want of every kind; they are accustomed to obey the word of command from their patrons and their booksellers; they have always passed a life of hazard and adventure, uncertain what may be their state on the next day; and, what is of yet more importance, they have long made their minds familiar to danger, by descriptions of bloody battles, daring undertakings, and

won-

wonderful escapes. They have their memories stored with all the stratagems of war, and have over and over practised in their closets the expedients of distress, the exultation of triumph, and the resignation of heroes sentenced to destruction.

Some indeed there are, who by often changing sides in controversy, may give just suspicion of their fidelity, and whom I should think likely to desert for the pleasure of desertion, or for a farthing a month advanced in their pay. Of these men I know not what use can be made, for they can never be trusted, but with shackles on their legs. There are others whom long depression, under supercilious patrons, has so humbled and crushed, that they will never have steadiness to keep their ranks. But for these men there may be found fifes and drums, and they will be well enough pleased to inflame others to battle, if they are not obliged to fight themselves.

It is more difficult to know what can be done with the *ladies of the pen*, of whom this age has produced greater numbers than any former time. It is indeed common for women to follow the camp, but no prudent general will allow them in such numbers as the breed of authoresses would furnish. Authoresses are seldom famous for clean linen, therefore they cannot make laundresses; they are rarely skilful at their needle, and cannot mend a soldier's shirt; they will make bad sutlers, being not much accustomed to eat. I must therefore propose, that they shall form a regiment of themselves, and garrison the town which is supposed to be

in most danger of a *French* invasion. They will probably have no enemies to encounter; but, if they are once shut up together, they will soon dis-incumber the public by tearing out the eyes of one another.

The great art of life, is to play for much, and to stake little; which rule I have kept in view through this whole project; for, if our authors and authoreffes defeat our enemies, we shall obtain all the usual advantages of victory; and, if they should be destroyed in war, we shall lose only those who had wearied the public, and whom, whatever be their fate, nobody will miss.

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* T H E
RISE, PROGRESS, AND PERFECTION
O F.
ARCHITECTURE AMONG THE ANCIENTS;
WITH
Some Account of its Declension among the GOTHs,
and Revival among the Moderns.

THE liberal arts, such as *architecture*, sculpture, painting, and music, have had their happy ages, in which they have appeared with greater splendor, and cast a stronger light, as well as the sciences; but this was of no long duration, except in *Greece*, where they continued longer than in any other part of the world. However, I shall confine myself, at present, to the rise, progress, and perfection of *architecture* among the ancients; with some account of its declension and revival among the moderns.

* From the Universal Visiter for June 1756.

The

The care of building houses immediately succeeded the cultivating of lands: they were erected only for convenience, to protect mankind against the inclemency of the weather; and we may find an affinity between the houses thus originally constructed, and the rural cottages in most countries of *Europe*, as well as the habitations of the independent *Indians* in *America*, the *Hot-tentot* krails in *Africa*, and the artificers huts in *Asia*. In the time of *Vitruvius*, which was not long before the Christian æra, they shewed, at *Athens*, as curious remains of antiquity, the roofs of the *Areopagus*, made of clay: and at *Rome*, in the temple of the capitol, the cottage of *Romulus* thatched with straw. But men were not long contented with conveniency alone: the workmen became more industrious and expert; whereby *architecture* called in other arts to its aid, which introduced pomp, grandeur, and magnificence, that became highly laudable on many occasions; but they were soon strangely abused by luxury.

Architecture may be properly divided into three branches; *civil*, *military*, and *naval*: but I am now only speaking of the first, which is the art of contriving and executing commodious buildings for the utility and ornament of civil life. The ancient writers represent the *Tyrians* as the first people among whom *architecture* was carried to any considerable improvement, which they afterwards communicated to the *Egyptians*; those to the *Grecians*; and these again to the *Romans*; from whence, after several vicissitudes of fortune, in the declension of the arts, and the ravages of the *Visigoths*, it has, at last,

descended to the politer part of the *European* nations, in all that beauty to which it arrived under the care of *Vitruvius*, in the reign of the emperor *Augustus*; and all that delicacy it received from the labours of *Apollodorus*, who erected the remarkable *Trajan* column, subsisting to this day: so that, by the improvement of the moderns, *architecture* is brought into the form of a mathematical art; though the taste of the ancients was much superior.

There is no occasion to enquire how far *architecture* was carried among the *Antediluvians*: the tower of *Babel* was built soon after the deluge; from whence *Asia* has been called the *cradle* of *architecture*, where it had its birth, where it attained a great degree of perfection, and spread into the other parts of the universe. *Babylon* and *Nineveh* were magnificent cities, built by *Nimrod*, the great grandson of *Noah*. The pyramids, obelisks, and temples of *Egypt*, were admirable. The ruins of *Persepolis*, as well as those of *Palmyra* and *Balbec*, are amazing. The *Jews* were very sumptuous in their buildings, particularly the tabernacle and the temple of *Jerusalem*. But the *perfection* of *architecture* must be ascribed to *Greece*, where we must still go as to the school of good taste in all the arts and sciences, if we desire to excel in any.

Ephesus was remarkable for the temple of *Diana*; and *Athens*, under the direction of *Pericles*, became almost as illustrious by the magnificence of her buildings, as she was for the glory of her military exploits; and the temple of *Jupiter Olympius* was a noble ornament to the city; so was that of *Apollo* in *Miletus*; and that of *Ceres*
and

and *Proserpine* at *Eleusis*. The city and light-house of *Alexandria* were worthy of the founder, *Alexander the Great*: and the superb monument which *Artemisa* erected for her husband *Mausolus*, king of *Cari*, was one of the most extraordinary buildings of antiquity: but these were constructed by *Grecian* artists.

The art of building was almost as soon known in *Italy* as *Greece*; if it is true that the *Tuscans* had no communication with the *Greeks*, when they invented the particular order, which retains their name to this day. *Tarquinius Priscus* began, and his grandson *Tarquinius Superbus* finished, the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* at *Rome*: but not without the assistance of *Etrurian* workmen; who also raised the subterranean sewers and canals that received all the dirt and filth of the city; “to which (says *Livy*) the magnificence of our days, in its most supreme degree, has scarce been capable of producing any thing comparable.” However, it was from the *Greeks* that the *Romans* learnt to excel in *architecture*; for, of all the orders, they knew only the *Tuscan*, till towards the latter times of the republic, and under the emperors, when luxury was grown to a great height at *Rome*, and *architecture* appeared there in all its splendor.

Cicero held no expences to be really laudable, but such as had the public utility in view; as the walls of cities and citadels, arsenals, ports, aqueducts, causeways, and others of a similar nature. He carried his rigour so far as to condemn theatres, piazzas, and even new temples; supporting his opinion by the authority of *Demetrius Phalerus*, who absolutely condemned the expences of *Pericles* on such occasions. From hence we may perceive why

architecture was kept so backward among the *Romans*: but, what *Polybius* so well foresaw, soon came to pass. The first *Scipio* laid the sure foundations of the future greatness of *Rome*: the last by his conquests opened the door to luxury; and private persons followed close at the heels of public magnificence. The armies, that returned victorious out of *Greece* and *Asia*, introduced with them the riches and manners of those countries. In what a short time a multitude of superb buildings, and magnificent works, were erected, which still adorn the remains of ancient *Rome*! The pantheon, the baths, the amphitheatre called the coliseum, the aqueducts, the causeways, the pillars of *Trajan* and *Antonine*, with the famous bridge over the *Danube* built by the order of *Trajan*.

Architecture continued to flourish at *Rome* till the invasion of the *Goths*, who introduced their own particular kind of building; being that which is remote from the ancient proportions, and loaded with chimerical ornaments. But there are two species of *Gothic architecture*: the one ancient, the other modern. The ancient is that which the *Goths* brought from the north in the fifth century; being massy, heavy, and gross. The works of the modern *Gothic* stile were more light, easy, delicate, and of an astonishing boldness of workmanship; being long in use, especially in *Italy*. All the ancient cathedrals were of *Gothic architecture*: and there are some very ancient churches built entirely in the *Gothic* taste, that want neither solidity nor beauty, and are still admired by the greatest architects, upon account of some general proportions remarkable in them.

The

The modern *Gothic* continued from the thirteenth century, till the re-establishment of the ancient *architecture* in the fourteenth. But it is surprising, that *Italy*, which abounded with monuments of so exquisite a taste, should quit its own noble *architecture*, established by antiquity, success, and possession; to adopt a barbarous, foreign, confused, and irregular manner: however, it has made amends for that fault, by being the first to return to the ancient taste, which is now solely and universally practised*.

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* This and the two preceding papers are ascribed to Dr. Johnson on the authority of Sir John Hawkins, who says, those marked • • were written by our author. E.

P R E F A C E

TO THE

LITERARY MAGAZINE, 1756.

TO THE PUBLIC.

THERE are some practices which custom and prejudice have so unhappily influenced, that to observe or neglect them is equally censurable. The promises made by the undertakers of any new design, every man thinks himself at liberty to deride, and yet every man expects, and expects with reason, that he who solicits the public attention, should give some account of his pretensions.

We are about to exhibit to our countrymen a new Monthly Collection, to which the well-deserved popularity of the first undertaking of this kind, has now made it almost necessary to prefix the name of Magazine. There are already many such periodical compilations, of which we do not envy the reception, nor shall dispute the excellence. If the nature of things would allow us

to indulge our wishes, we should desire to advance our own interest without lessening that of any other, and to excite the curiosity of the vacant, rather than withdraw that which other writers have already engaged.

Our design is to give the history political and literary of every month, and our pamphlets must consist, like other collections, of many articles unconnected and independent on each other.

The chief political object of an *Englishman's* attention must be the great council of the nation, and we shall therefore register all public proceedings with particular care. We shall not attempt to give any regular series of debates, or to amuse our readers with senatorial rhetoric. The speeches inserted in other papers have been long known to be fictitious, and produced sometimes by men who never heard the debate, nor had any authentic information. We have no design to impose thus grossly on our readers, and shall therefore give the naked arguments used in the discussion of every question, and add, when they can be obtained, the names of the speakers.

As the proceedings in parliament are unintelligible without a knowledge of the facts to which they relate, and of the state of the nations to which they extend their influence, we shall exhibit monthly a view, though contracted yet distinct, of foreign affairs, and lay open the designs and interests of those nations which are considered by the *English* either as friends or enemies.

Of transactions in our own country curiosity will demand a more particular account, and we shall record every remarkable event, extraordinary casualty, uncommon performance, or striking novelty, and shall apply
our

our care to the discovery of truth, with very little reliance on the daily historians.

The lists of births, marriages, deaths, and burials, will be so drawn up that we hope very few omissions or mistakes will be found, though some must be expected to happen in so great a variety, where there is neither leisure nor opportunity for minute information.

It is intended that lists shall be given of all the officers and persons in public employment, and that all the alterations shall be noted as they happen, by which our list will be a kind of court-register always complete.

The literary history necessarily contains an account of the labours of the learned, in which whether we shall shew much judgment or sagacity, must be left to our readers to determine; we can promise only justness and candour. It is not to be expected that we can insert extensive extracts or critical examinations of all the writings which this age of writers may offer to our notice. A few only will deserve the distinction of criticism, and a few only will obtain it. We shall try to select the best and most important pieces, and are not without hope, that we may sometimes influence the public voice, and hasten the popularity of a valuable work.

Our regard will not be confined to books; it will extend to all the productions of science. Any new calculation, a commodious instrument, the discovery of any property in nature, or any new method of bringing known properties into use or view, shall be diligently treasured up wherever found.

In a paper designed for general perusal, it will be necessary to dwell most upon things of general entertainment.

ment. The elegant trifles of literature, the wild strains of fancy, the pleasing amusements of harmless wit, shall therefore be considered as necessary to our collection. Nor shall we omit researches into antiquity, explanations of coins or inscriptions, disquisitions on controverted history, conjectures on doubtful geography, or any other of those petty works upon which learned ingenuity is sometimes employed.

To these accounts of temporary transactions and fugitive performances, we shall add some dissertations on things more permanent and stable; some inquiries into the history of nature, which has hitherto been treated as if mankind were afraid of exhausting it. There are in our own country many things and places worthy of note that are yet little known, and every day gives opportunities of new observations which are made and forgotten. We hope to find means of extending and perpetuating physiological discoveries, and with regard to this article, and all others, intreat the assistance of curious and candid correspondents.

We shall labour to attain as much exactness as can be expected in such variety, and shall give as much variety as can consist with reasonable exactness; for this purpose a selection has been made of men qualified for the different parts of the work, and each has the employment assigned him, which he is supposed most able to discharge.

A
L E T T E R
FROM A
FRENCH REFUGEE IN AMERICA,
TO HIS FRIEND,
A GENTLEMAN IN ENGLAND*.

S I R,

THE *loser must be allowed to speak*; you will give us leave therefore, who have already begun to suffer, and who know not what is yet behind, to represent to you some of the instances of neglect on our own part, and of ill-conduct and unkind usage toward us, on the part of our mother country.

I shall begin with the policy of the *English* in appointing us our GOVERNORS, who are generally strangers and have no *landed interest* here; and who therefore cannot be supposed to have that *natural affection* for us, or that *political attachment* to us, which natives, or those who

* From the Literary Magazine, June 1756.

have a large landed interest here, may be supposed to have.

Another consideration, which tends to break the tie between us, is, that they generally reside but a little while among us; or, at least, have no views of continuing for life; and are too often sent hither *only to serve a turn*. Is it therefore any wonder that such persons as these should be but very *indifferent* with regard to *our* interest, however *solicitous* they may be in cultivating what they may call *their own* *?

Another hardship is, not being suffered to go into those manufactures, which nature has fitted and designed us for. This restraint, you are sensible, is laid upon us under the pretence, *lest we should rival our mother country*. Whereas God and nature no doubt designed, that every part of the globe should contribute its quota towards the wants and advantages of human life; and to restrain any part of the earth, in this respect, from political considerations, is nothing less than laying an embargo upon nature, and shackling, as it were, divine Providence *itself*. If we rival *Europe* in some articles, *Europe* rivals us in others. Nature ought to have its free course in this respect, and not to be checked, and

* Without an attendance to the above considerations, it is hard to conceive how such enormous incroachments could have been suffered to have taken place on our territories in *America*, by the *French* and *Spaniards*, more especially by the former; who have in a manner covered that country with their forts, in order to maintain those incroachments. See a map published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for *July, 1755*, where these incroachments appear by inspection, as also the numerous forts built in defence of them, many of which have been erected since the treaty of *Dix-la-Chapelle*.

put out of the direction the God of nature and the great king of kings has given her. Nor, indeed, are princes aware what injuries they do *themselves*, as well as what hardships they lay their *subjects* under, by restraints of this kind; how many countries have revolted, and others been lost and torn from their mother nations by being kept in this bondage. And it will be well, if, by thus *keeping down the American colonies*, and not letting us exert our natural strength, we do not become a prey to a foreign power, instead of being a defence to our mother country, as we might easily have been made ere this in much greater degrees than we are now capable of being, had we been suffered to have exerted ourselves in our *own proper sphere*.

Another instance of gross neglect has been the not repelling *immediately and without any loss of time*, the first incroachments, whether on the sea-coast, or inland, or with regard to islands. As soon as ever advice had been received that the *French* or *Spaniards* had invaded our territories, or neutral lands or islands, and were beginning to settle and fortify themselves upon them, we should have gone against these invaders *directly*, and have driven them out sword in hand; and not pretended to have entered into *treaty* with people who will spend year after year in treating with you, and keep all the while *invading* you, and fortifying themselves in those invasions, and then *you may drive them out of their incroachments how you can*. If the *French* or *Spaniards* had any demands upon us, they should have proposed them to us and made their claims; and if we would not have heard the voice of *treaties*, of *evidence*, *reason* and *justice*, it would

then

then have been time enough for them to have had recourse to *arms*, but to invade us first; and then to talk about treating, is all a *mere joke* *.

But once more, our mother country has been certainly wanting to us as well as to herself, in not directing long since the building a strong squadron of ships here; where we have so many *materials* towards it, and could so easily have *manned* them; which would have served as a *fleet of observation* to have watched the sea-coasts, and prevented all incroachments upon them, not to say, on the *neutral American islands*; and even the landing of the last late armament from *France*, which may prove so fatal to us, if not counter-wrought by a proper reinforcement from *England*, might, in all probability, have been prevented.

What shall I say to the giving up *Cape-Breton*? Had we been suffered to keep *that important place*, it might have prevented the present *American war*, by breaking in a good measure the *chain*, which the *French* have formed between *Canada* and *Louisiana*. Certainly, as it was an *American conquest* it ought in justice, and more especially, in *POLICY*, to have been left to *America*. And if all the powers of *Europe* CANNOT, or will not make head against *France* on the *European continent*; why must *America*, a poor infant settlement of but about a century or two's standing, be the sacrifice? Had we kept the

* It was as long ago as *July, 1754*, that the *French* had the insolence to attack colonel *Washington*, and to drive him out of fort *Necessity* in *Virginia*, murdering a number of his men; at which time the whole garrison narrowly escaped being put to the sword. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1754, page 399.

island of *Cape-Breton* it would have been a good step towards driving the French intirely out of America; and, it is much to be feared, we shall never have any *solid peace* till that is done. In which case, we had been in condition to have lent our mother country *incredible assistance* in a time of war; whereas, now, by being thus reduced again into *bondage*, we stand in need of assistance from her. *Louisburg* is the *Dunkirk* of *America*.

I come now to an article of much folly and guilt: I mean no other than our *management* of the *Indians*. These, we should have endeavoured, no doubt by all possible means, to have gained over to, and secured in our interest; in opposition to those in the interest of *France* and *Spain*. This should have been attempted by all possible applications to their *minds* and their *bodies*. We should have endeavoured to have given them just notions of life, natural, civil, and religious; and shewn them the difference between the *friendship*, the *service*, and the *government* of the *English*, and of the *French* and *Spaniards*. Where *reason* had failed us, I mean where we had found the *Indians* incapable of the convictions of reason, we should have had recourse to such other considerations as are immediate and palpable; and such as considering them as *mere animals only*, they could not but have been sensible to.

After gaining over as many of the *ADULTS* as possible into our interest, we should have been particularly attentive to the education of their *CHILDREN*; in order to have worn out the race of the wild *Indians*, we should have taught them our language, and the first principles of our *learning*, *natural*, *civil* and *religious*: initiated them

them into the *mechanical trades*: and shewn them the *conveniences* and *accommodations* of life, in order to have drawn them off from the savage life of their parents; and a few of *genius* selected out from each nation among them, might have been introduced to an acquaintance with the *liberal arts*, who might have been made instruments to have gained others.

But there is the less necessity to enlarge upon this head; as I have observed, from time to time among the advertisements found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* you sent me, a treatise upon *the importance of gaining and preserving the friendship of the Indians to the British interest*; which however, I suppose, like multitudes of your other books, has lain by neglected among you, as it has done among us.

Lastly, it is pity, methinks, that a scheme, like that obtaining among the *French*, was not set on foot *here*; by which an *immediate estimate* might be made of our *natural, civil, and military* strength; which, more especially in a time of war, might be of infinite service.

I say nothing at present of the neglect with regard to the *peopling* of us more thoroughly: though there is *room*, it is certain, to *receive*, and *work* enough to *employ* all the *spare hands* of the islands of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*: nor need you have any single *beggar* or *stroller* left throughout the *three kingdoms*.

Nor do I take any notice of the deficiencies in the forming and training our *MILITIA*, or those already settled among us. These, together with several other articles *natural, civil and religious*, will be the subject of another year's letters, if Providence shall permit the continuance

tinuance of the correspondence; which however, considering my *age* and the *troubles* in view, is not, I am afraid, very probable.

Thus, Sir, I have laid before you a specimen of our grievances; some of them occasioned by our own *indolence*, and others by the *neglect* of our *mother country*. You compassionate us, I do not question, harrassed by robbers on either side, the inhabitants of *Canada* and *Louisiana*; not to say the *French* and the *Spaniards**; but, Sir, *pity alone*, give me leave to tell you, will not do. You must send us supplies, *veterans* and *engineers* are the people that we want to mix with our *raw levies*, and to pit against the *veterans* and *engineers* of *France*; without a *timely* and *powerful supply* of which, God only knows what must be the consequence.

Adieu, dear Sir, and may heaven avert the melancholy appearances which now threaten us.

Make my compliments to all our common friends, and particularly to the Rev. Mr. ——— and his very agreeable family, letting him know how sincerely glad I now am, that he did not accept my pressing invitations of settling here, offered him when I was last in *England*. Since, if there are not already *enow* of us to *repel* the *French*, there are however *enow* of us to *fall* before them, and to be *enslaved* by them; one or the

* It is not long since we had advice that the *Spaniards* had rebuilt the *forts of incroachment* in *Georgia*, which had been demolished by general *Oglethorpe* during his government of that colony; to say nothing of their late conduct in regard to our settlements in the bays of *Honduras* and *Campeachy*.

other of which must certainly be the fate of all the inhabitants of every country, where these perfidious and bloody people obtain the mastery. I am,

Dear, Sir, &c.

America, Aug. 1, 1755.

GALLO-ANGLUS.

P. S. Do not you think me an unhappy man? Driven out of *France*, as you know I first was together with my parents, in infancy, by that hoary tyrant *Louis XIV.* into *Holland*: from thence residing some years in *England*. And now settling, as I thought, for the last time in order to spend the remainder of my days in these solitudes, to have the repose of my old age broken, by men whom I am ashamed to call my *countrymen*: as they are indeed no other than the *common enemies* and *sworn disturbers* of mankind, resolving that no body shall ever have any *enjoyment* of life, till they become *their subjects*; when it will be *impossible* they should have any.

OBSERVATIONS on the foregoing LETTER.

BY DR. JOHNSON.

IT is natural for every man to think highly of his own usefulness and importance, and consequently of the importance of that community, or part of the community, with which he is connected.

Q 2

From

From this disposition proceeds much of the right and of the wrong in every man's actions and opinions; and to this must be imputed whatever is censurable in the foregoing letter, which contains many just observations and positions, that, though very little to the honour of our country, cannot be disputed.

His complaints of restraints laid upon their manufactures are such as every man makes, who finds himself restrained. But his cant about nature and providence would prove that no human legislature has a right to make any prudential laws, or to regulate any thing which before such regulation was indifferent. But such is the state of society, that part must be sometimes incommoded for the advantage of the whole. Every nation forbids some importations or exportations, or regulates the buildings, plantations, and agriculture of its own people.

I do not attempt to prove, that all the restraints laid on the *Americans* are prudent. I have not in general a favourable opinion of restraints, which always produce discontent and an habitual violation of laws, and, perhaps, seldom contribute much to the end proposed. But whether wise or not they may undoubtedly be just.

If the *American* colonies can support themselves against their enemies, to what do they owe that strength, but to the protection of *England*, and how can they repay it but by contributing to the wealth of that country which protected them in their helpless state, on condition that they should obey her laws, and promote her interest.

If they yet cannot subsist but by the help and defence which they receive from *England*, as indeed they cannot for a single year, they may surely be content to purchase that protection by the use of the manufactures of their native country.

When he talks of their importance, he forgets that their importance is the consequence of the restraints which he condemns; for if our colonies did not consume our manufactures, they would be to us of no importance or value, nor should we have any interest in defending them more than any other body of exiles or fugitives.

When he talks of their strength, he in some measure confutes himself: for if they are grown so strong in so short a time, it is evident that they cannot have been much discouraged or oppressed.

With as little reason does he complain of the restitution of *Cape-Breton*, which, as he knows, was restored only because it could not be kept. Nothing can be more absurd than to claim it as an *American conquest*: which is false, because it was conquered by the help of an *English* fleet, and which, if it were true, could not be urged without considering the *Americans* as having an interest distinct from that of their mother country.

If the powers of *EUROPE*, says he, cannot or will not make head against *France*, why must *America*, a poor infant colony, be sacrificed? If any sacrifice must be made, which we hope to be always able to refuse, what should we sacrifice but a poor infant colony? What should

we sacrifice but that which is of least value? But this complaint is surely unseasonable, when all the power of *Britain* is exerted in defence of the *American* colonies.

One of his arguments, by which he proves the value of our *American* dominions, is such as deceives many, and gives occasion to many absurd speculations, if not to mischievous practices, and therefore deserves to be considered. There is, says he, so much room in the *American* regions, that there needs not be a beggar or stroller in *England*.

I do not very clearly see the consequence that, because there are lands in *America*, there need be no beggars in *England*. Our beggars are not beggars because we want land, but either by impotence, idleness, ignorance of the arts of life, or misfortune. Those who are impotent will not be much mended by the voyage, and, I am afraid, will be coldly received by their fellow-subjects in *America*. What cure, except hunger, or a whip, there is in *America* for idleness, the inhabitants of that country must inform us; if idlers can be reformed there by any means which cannot be used at home, they ought certainly to be shipped off with the first wind. Those that have been so unhappily trained as to have no means of earning a livelihood, but by brute labour or bodily strength exercised without art, are, I believe, less wanted in *America* than in *England*. And of those who are impoverished, the number, whom misery terror and want drive into *America*, is already too great.

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It ought to be considered, that every inhabitant gained to the colonies, is lost to the mother country. That the people sent into these unbounded regions, are diffused over vast tracts, to such a distance as to be disabled from instructing or helping one another, and are therefore less useful and less happy than at home. The strength of every country consists in the number of people proportionate to its extent, and it is not the populousness of a nation that produces beggars and strollers, but want of due regulation. To free ourselves from beggars and strollers by sending them to *America*, is to cure an ulcer by cutting off the limb.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

TREATY

Between his BRITANNIC Majesty and her Imperial Majesty of all the RUSSIAS, signed at *Moscow*, Dec. 11, 1742; the Treaty between his BRITANNIC Majesty and the Landgrave of HESSE CASSEL, signed June 18, 1755; and the Treaty between his BRITANNIC Majesty and her Imperial Majesty of all the RUSSIAS, signed at *St. Petersburg*, Sept. 12, 1755*.

THESE are the treaties which for many months filled the senate with debates, and the kingdom with clamours; which were represented on one part as instances of the most profound policy and the most active care of the public welfare, and on the other, as acts of the most contemptible folly and most flagrant corruption, as violations of the great trust of government, by which the wealth of *Britain* is sacrificed to private views, and to a particular province.

* From the Literary Magazine for July 1756.

What

What honours our ministers and negotiators may expect to be paid to their wisdom, it is hard to determine, for the demands of vanity are not easily estimated. They should consider, before they call too loudly for encomiums, that they live in an age when the power of gold is no longer a secret, and in which no man finds much difficulty in making a bargain with money in his hand. To hire troops is very easy to those who are willing to pay their price. It appears, therefore, that whatever has been done, was done by means which every man knows how to use, if fortune is kind enough to put them in his power. To arm the nations of the north in the cause of *Britain*, to bring down hosts against *France* from the polar circle, has indeed a sound of magnificence, which might induce a mind unacquainted with public affairs to imagine, that some effort of policy more than human had been exerted, by which distant nations were armed in our defence, and the influence of *Britain* was extended to the utmost limits of the world. But when this striking phenomenon of negotiation is more nearly inspected, it appears a bargain merely mercantile of one power that wanted troops more than money, with another that wanted money, and was burdened with troops; between whom their mutual wants made an easy contract, and who have no other friendship for each other, than reciprocal convenience happens to produce.

We shall therefore leave the praises of our ministers to others, yet not without this acknowledgment, that if they have done little, they do not seem to boast of doing much; and that whether influenced by modesty or frugality, they have not wearied the public with mercenary panegyrics,

panegyrist, but have been content with the concurrence of the parliament, and have not much solicited the applauses of the people.

In public as in private transactions, men more frequently deviate from the right for want of virtue than of wisdom; and those who declare themselves dissatisfied with these treaties, impute them not to folly but corruption.

By these advocates for the independence of *Britain*, who, whether their arguments be just or not, seem to be most favourably heard by the people, it is alledged, that these treaties are expensive without advantage; that they waste the treasure, which we want for our own defence, upon a foreign interest; and pour the gains of our commerce into the coffers of princes, whose enmity cannot hurt nor friendship help us; who set their subjects to sale like sheep or oxen, without any enquiry after the intentions of the buyer, and will withdraw the troops with which they have supplied us, whenever a higher bidder shall be found.

This perhaps is true, but whether it be true or false is not worth enquiry. We did not expect to buy their friendship, but their troops; nor did we examine upon what principle we were supplied with assistance; it was sufficient that we wanted forces, and that they were willing to furnish them. Policy never pretended to make men wise and good; the utmost of her power is to make the best use of men such as they are, to lay hold on lucky hours, to watch the present wants and present interests of others, and make them subservient to her own convenience.

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It is farther urged with great vehemence, that these troops of *Russia* and *Hesse* are not hired in defence of *Britain*; that we are engaged in a naval war for territories on a distant continent; and that these troops, though mercenaries, can never be auxiliaries; that they increase the burden of the war, without hastening its conclusion, or promoting its success; since they can neither be sent into *America*, the only part of the world where *England* can, on the present occasion, have any employment for land forces, nor be put into our ships, by which, and by which only, we are now to oppose and subdue our enemies.

Nature has stationed us in an island inaccessible but by sea; and we are now at war with an enemy, whose naval power is inferior to our own, and from whom therefore we are in no danger of invasion: to what purpose then are troops hired in such uncommon numbers? To what end do we procure strength which we cannot exert, and exhaust the nation with subsidies at a time when nothing is disputed, which the princes who receive our subsidies can defend? If we had purchased ships, and hired seamen, we had apparently increased our power, and made ourselves formidable to our enemies, and, if any increase of security be possible, had secured ourselves still better from invasions: but what can the regiments of *Russia* or of *Hesse* contribute to the defence of the coasts of *England*; or by what assistance can they repay us the sums which we have stipulated to pay for their costly friendship?

The King of *Great-Britain* has indeed a territory on the continent, of which the natives of this island scarcely knew

knew the name till the present family was called to the throne, and yet know little more than that our King visits it from time to time. Yet for the defence of this country are these subsidies apparently paid, and these troops evidently levied. The riches of our nation are sent into distant countries, and the strength which should be employed in our own quarrel consequently impaired, for the sake of dominions, the interest of which has no connection with ours, and which, by the act of succession, we took care to keep separate from the *British* kingdoms.

To this the advocates for the subsidies say, that unreasonable stipulations, whether in the act of settlement or any other contract, are in themselves void; and that if a country connected with *England* by subjection to the same sovereign, is endangered by an *English* quarrel, it must be defended by *English* force; and that we do not engage in a war for the sake of *Hanover*, but that *Hanover* is for our sake exposed to danger.

Those who brought in these foreign troops have still something further to say in their defence, and of no honest plea is it our intention to defraud them. They grant, that the terror of invasion may possibly be groundless, that the *French* may want the power or the courage to attack us in our own country; but they maintain, likewise, that an invasion is possible, that the armies of *France* are so numerous that she may hazard a large body on the ocean, without leaving herself exposed; that she is exasperated to the utmost degree of acrimony, and would be willing to do us mischief at her own peril. They allow that the invaders may be intercepted at sea, or that, if they land, they may be defeated by our native troops.

troops. But they say, and say justly, that danger is better avoided than encountered; that those ministers consult more the good of their country who prevent invasion, than repel it; and that if these auxiliaries have only saved us from the anxiety of expecting an enemy at our doors, or from the tumult and distress which an invasion, how soon soever repressed, would have produced, the public money is not spent in vain.

These arguments are admitted by some, and by others rejected. But even those that admit them, can admit them only as pleas of necessity; for they consider the reception of mercenaries into our country as the desperate remedy of desperate distress; and think with great reason, that all means of prevention should be tried to save us from any second need of such doubtful succours.

That we are able to defend our own country, that arms are most safely entrusted to our own hands, and that we have strength, and skill, and courage, equal to the best of the nations of the continent, is the opinion of every *Englishman* who can think without prejudice, and speak without influence; and therefore it will not be easy to persuade the nation, a nation long renowned for valour, that it can need the help of foreigners to defend it from invasion. We have been long without the need of arms by our good fortune, and long without the use by our negligence; so long, that the practice and almost the name of our old trained-bands is forgotten. But the story of ancient times will tell us, that the trained-bands were once able to maintain the quiet and safety of their country; and reason without history will inform us, that those men are most likely to fight bravely,

bravely, or at least to fight obstinately, who fight for their own houses and farms, for their own wives and children.

A bill was therefore offered for the prevention of any future danger or invasion, or necessity of mercenary forces, by re-establishing and improving the militia. It was passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords. That this bill, the first essay of political consideration as a subject long forgotten, should be liable to objection, cannot be strange; but surely, justice, policy, common reason require that we should be trusted with our own defence, and be kept no longer in such a helpless state as at once to dread our enemies and confederates.

By the bill, such as it was formed, sixty thousand men would always be in arms. We have shewn* how they may be upon any exigence easily increased to an hundred and fifty thousand; and I believe, neither our friends nor enemies will think it proper to insult our coasts when they expect to find upon them an hundred and fifty thousand *Englishmen* with swords in their hands.

* See Literary Mag. N° ii. p. 63.

P R E F A C E

T O A N

INTRODUCTION to the Game of DRAUGHTS.

By WILLIAM PAYNE, Teacher of Mathematics*.

IT is natural for a man to think well of the art which he professes to teach, and I may therefore be expected to have some esteem for the play of DRAUGHTS. I would not, however, be thought to over-rate it. Every art is valued in a joint proportion to its difficulty and usefulness. The use of DRAUGHTS is the same with that of any other game of skill, that it may amuse those hours for which more laudable employment is not at hand; and happy is the man whose equability of temper and constancy of perseverance in better things, exempt him from the need of such reliefs.

Whatever may be determined concerning its use, its difficulty is incontestible; for among the multitudes that practise it, very few understand it. There are indeed not many who by any frequency of playing can attain a

* First published 1756.

moderate degree of skill without examples and instructions. I have therefore here given a collection of the most artful games, the most critical situations, and the most striking revolutions, that have fallen within my notice; which are such as may, in some respects, set this game even equal with that of *Chefs*.

There is indeed one secret boasted in the world, which I cannot teach. Some men pretend to an infallible method, by which he that moves first shall win the game; but no such hero has it ever been my fortune to encounter, and no such do I expect to find. Nor can it be proved that the first mover has any considerable advantage over a person equally skilful with himself. In this opinion I have the concurrence of those excellent players Mr. *James Randell*, Captain *John Godfrey*, and Mr. *William Wolly*, my intimate and worthy friends, whose examples have greatly contributed to my skill in the game; but in particular those of the great *Randell*, of whom it may with probability be asserted, that what he could not attain will never be discovered.

P R E F A C E

TO THE

OCTAVO EDITION

OF THE

ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

HAVING been long employed in the study and cultivation of the English language, I lately published a dictionary like those compiled by the academies of Italy and France, for the use of such as aspire to exactness of criticism, or elegance of style.

But it has been since considered, that works of that kind are by no means necessary to the greater number of readers, who, seldom intending to write or presuming to judge, turn over books only to amuse their leisure, and to gain degrees of knowledge suitable to lower characters, or necessary to the common business of life: these know not any other use of a dictionary than that of adjusting orthography, and explaining terms of science, or words of infrequent occurrence, or remote derivation.

For these purposes many dictionaries have been written by different authors, and with different degrees of skill;
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but none of them have yet fallen into my hands by which even the lowest expectations could be satisfied. Some of their authors wanted industry, and others literature: some knew not their own defects, and others were too idle to supply them.

For this reason a small dictionary appeared yet to be wanting to common readers; and, as I may without arrogance claim to myself a longer acquaintance with the lexicography of our language than any other writer has had, I shall hope to be considered as having more experience at least than most of my predecessors, and as more likely to accommodate the nation with a vocabulary of daily use. I therefore offer to the public an abstract or epitome of my former work.

In comparing this with other dictionaries of the same kind, it will be found to have several advantages.

I. It contains many words not to be found in any other.

II. Many barbarous terms and phrases, by which other dictionaries may vitiate the style, are rejected from this.

III. The words are more correctly spelled, partly by attention to their etymology, and partly by observation of the practice of the best authors.

IV. The etymologies and derivations, whether from foreign languages or from native roots, are more diligently traced, and more distinctly noted.

V. The senses of each word are more copiously enumerated, and more clearly explained.

VI. Many words occurring in the elder authors, such as Spenfer, Shakspeare, and Milton, which had been

hitherto omitted, are here carefully inserted; so that this book may serve as a glossary or expository index to the poetical writers.

VII. To the words, and to the different senses of each word, are subjoined from the large dictionary the names of those writers by whom they have been used; so that the reader who knows the different periods of the language, and the time of its authors, may judge of the elegance or prevalence of any word, or meaning of a word; and without recurring to other books, may know what are antiquated, what are unusual, and what are recommended by the best authority.

The words of this dictionary, as opposed to others, are more diligently collected, more accurately spelled, more faithfully explained, and more authentically ascertained. Of an abstract it is not necessary to say more; and I hope, it will not be found that truth requires me to say less.

T H E
I D L E R.

N° XXII.*

MANY naturalists are of opinion, that the animals which we commonly consider as mute, have the power of imparting their thoughts to one another. That they can express general sensations is very certain; every being that can utter sounds, has a different voice for pleasure and for pain. The hound informs his fellows when he scents his game; the hen calls her chickens to their food by her cluck, and drives them from danger by her scream.

Birds have the greatest variety of notes; they have indeed a variety, which seems almost sufficient to make a speech adequate to the purposes of a life, which is regulated by instinct, and can admit little change or improvement. To the cries of birds, curiosity or superstition has been always attentive; many have studied the language of the feathered tribes, and some have boasted that they understood it.

* This paper was omitted when *The Idler* was reprinted. E.

The most skilful or most confident interpreters of the sylvan dialogues have been commonly found among the philosophers of the east, in a country where the calmness of the air, and the mildness of the seasons, allow the student to pass a great part of the year in groves and bowers. But what may be done in one place by peculiar opportunities, may be performed in another by peculiar diligence. A shepherd of *Bobemia* has, by long abode in the forests, enabled himself to understand the voice of birds; at least he relates with great confidence a story, of which the credibility is left to be considered by the learned.

As I was sitting (said he) within a hollow rock, and watching my sheep that fed in the valley, I heard two vultures interchangeably crying on the summit of the cliff. Both voices were earnest and deliberate. My curiosity prevailed over my care of the flock; I climbed slowly and silently from crag to crag, concealed among the shrubs, till I found a cavity where I might sit and listen without suffering, or giving disturbance.

I soon perceived, that my labour would be well repaid; for an old vulture was sitting on a naked prominence, with her young about her, whom she was instructing in the arts of a vulture's life, and preparing, by the last lecture, for their final dismissal to the mountains and the skies.

My children, said the old vulture, you will the less want my instructions, because you have had my practice before your eyes; you have seen me snatch from the farm the household fowl, you have seen me seize the

leveret in the bush, and the kid in the pasture; you know how to fix your talons, and how to balance your flight when you are laden with your prey. But you remember the taste of more delicious food; I have often regaled you with the flesh of man. Tell us, said the young vultures, where man may be found, and how he may be known; his flesh is surely the natural food of a vulture. Why have you never brought a man in your talons to the nest? He is too bulky, said the mother; when we find a man, we can only tear away his flesh, and leave his bones upon the ground. Since man is so big, said the young ones, how do you kill him? You are afraid of the wolf and of the bear, by what power are vultures superior to man? is man more defenceless than a sheep? We have not the strength of man, returned the mother, and I am sometimes in doubt whether we have the subtilty; and the vultures would seldom feast upon his flesh, had not nature, that devoted him to our uses, infused into him a strange ferocity, which I have never observed in any other being that feeds upon the earth. Two herds of men will often meet and shake the earth with noise, and fill the air with fire. When you hear noise and see fire, with flashes along the ground, hasten to the place with your swiftest wing, for men are surely destroying one another; you will then find the ground smoking with blood, and covered with carcases, of which many are dismembered and mangled for the convenience of the vulture. But when men have killed their prey, said the pupil, why do they not eat it? When the wolf has killed a sheep, he suffers not the
vulture

vulture to touch it till he has satisfied himself. Is not man another kind of wolf? Man, said the mother, is the only beast who kills that which he does not devour, and this quality makes him so much a benefactor to our species. If men kill our prey and lay it in our way, said the young one, what need shall we have of labouring for ourselves? Because man will, sometimes, replied the mother, remain for a long time quiet in his den. The old vultures will tell you when you are to watch his motions. When you see men in great numbers moving close together, like a flight of storks, you may conclude that they are hunting, and that you will soon revel in human blood. But still, said the young one, I would gladly know the reason of this mutual slaughter. I could never kill what I could not eat. My child, said the mother, this is a question which I cannot answer, though I am reckoned the most subtle bird of the mountain. When I was young, I used frequently to visit the ayry of an old vulture, who dwelt upon the *Carpathian* rocks; he had made many observations; he knew the places that afforded prey round his habitation, as far in every direction as the strongest wing can fly between the rising and setting of the summer sun; he had fed year after year on the entrails of men. His opinion was, that men had only the appearance of animal life, being really vegetables with a power of motion; and that as the boughs of an oak are dashed together by the storm, that swine may fatten upon the falling acorns, so men are by some unaccountable power driven one against another, till they lose their motion, that vultures

may be fed. Others think they have observed something of contrivance and policy among these mischievous beings; and those that hover more closely round them, pretend, that there is, in every herd, one that gives directions to the rest, and seems to be more eminently delighted with a wide carnage. What it is that entitles him to such pre-eminence we know not; he is seldom the biggest or the swiftest, but he shews by his eagerness and diligence that he is, more than any of the others, a friend to the vultures.



A
DISSERTATION
UPON THE
GREEK COMEDY,

Translated from BRUMOY *.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I CONCLUDE this work according to my promise, with an account of the Comic Theatre, and intreat the reader, whether a favourer or an enemy of the ancient Drama, not to pass his censure upon the authors or upon me, without a regular perusal of this whole

* Published by Mrs. Lennox in 4to. 1759. To the third volume of this work the following Advertisement is prefixed. " In this volume, the Discourse on the Greek Comedy, and the General Conclusion, are translated by the celebrated author of the Rambler. The Comedy of the Birds, and that of Peace, by a young Gentleman. The Comedy of the Frogs, by the learned and ingenious Dr. Gregory Sharpe. The Discourse upon the Cyclops, by John Bourrya, Esq. The Cyclops, by Dr. Grainger, author of the translation of Tibullus." E.

work.

work. For, though it seems to be composed of pieces of which each may precede or follow without dependance upon the other, yet all the parts, taken together, form a system which would be destroyed by their disjunction. Which way shall we come at the knowledge of the ancients shews, but by comparing together all that is left of them? The value and necessity of this comparison determined me to publish all, or to publish nothing. Besides the reflections on each piece, and on the general taste of antiquity, which in my opinion, are not without importance, have a kind of obscure gradation, which I have carefully endeavoured to preserve, and of which the thread would be lost by him who should slightly glance sometimes upon one piece, and sometimes upon another. It is a structure which I have endeavoured to make as near to regularity as I could, and which must be seen in its full extent and in proper succession. The reader who skips here and there over the book, might make a hundred objections which are either anticipated, or answered in those pieces which he might have overlooked. I have laid such stress upon the connection of the parts of this work, that I have declined to exhaust the subject, and have suppressed many of my notions, that I might leave the judicious reader to please himself by forming such conclusions as I supposed him like to discover, as well as myself. I am not here attempting to prejudice the reader by an apology either for the ancients, or my own manner. I have not claimed a right of obliging others to determine, by my opinion, the degrees of esteem which I
 think

think due to the authors of the Athenian Stage; nor do I think that their reputation in the present time, ought to depend upon my mode of thinking or expressing my thoughts, which I leave entirely to the judgment of the public.

A

DISSERTATION, &c.

I WAS in doubt a long time, whether I should meddle at all with the *Greek* comedy, both, because the pieces which remain are very few, the licentiousness of *Aristophanes*, their author, is exorbitant, and it is very difficult to draw from the performances of a single poet, a just idea of *Greek* comedy. Besides, it seemed that tragedy was sufficient to employ all my attention, that I might give a complete representation of that kind of writing, which was most esteemed by the *Athenians* and the wiser *Greeks**, particularly by *Socrates*, who set no value upon comedy or comic actors. But the very name of that drama, which in polite ages, and above all others in our own, has been so much advanced, that it has become equal

Reasons why *Aristophanes* may be reviewed without translating him entirely.

* There was a law which forbade any judge of the *Areopagus* to write comedy.

to tragedy, if not preferable, incline me to think that I may be partly reproached with an imperfect work, if, after having gone as deep as I could into the nature of the *Greek* tragedy, I did not at least sketch a draught of the comedy.

I then considered, that it was not wholly impossible to surmount, at least in part, the difficulties which had stopt me, and to go somewhat farther than the learned writers *, who have published in *French* some pieces of *Aristophanes*; not that I pretend to make large translations. The same reasons which have hindered with respect to the more noble parts of the *Greek* drama, operate with double force upon my present subject. Though ridicule, which is the business of comedy, be not less uniform in all times, than the passions which are moved by tragic compositions; yet, if diversity of manners may sometimes disguise the passions themselves, how much more greater change will be made in jocularities? The truth is, that they are so much changed by the course of time, that pleasantry and ridicule become dull and flat much more easily than the pathetic becomes ridiculous.

That which is commonly known by the term jocular and comic, is nothing but a turn of expression, an airy phantom, that must be caught at a particular point. As we lose this point, we lose the jocular, and find nothing but dulness in its place. A lucky sally, which has filled a company with laughter, will have no effect in print, because it is shewn single and separate from

* Madame Dacier, M. Boivin.

the circumstance which 'gave it force. Many satirical jests, found in ancient books, have had the same fate; their spirit has evaporated by time, and have left nothing to us but insipidity. None but the most biting passages have preserved their points unblunted.

But, besides this objection, which extends universally to all translations of *Aristophanes*, and many allusions of which time has deprived us, there are loose expressions thrown out to the populace to raise laughter from corrupt passions, which are unworthy of the curiosity of decent readers, and which ought to rest eternally in proper obscurity. Not every thing in this infancy of comedy was excellent, at least it would not appear excellent at this distance of time, in comparison of compositions of the same kind, which lie before our eyes; and this is reason enough to save me the trouble of translating, and the reader that of perusing. As for that small number of writers who delight in those delicacies, they give themselves very little trouble about translations, except it be to find fault with them; and the majority of people of wit, like comedies that may give them pleasure, without much trouble of attention, and are not much disposed to find beauties in that which requires long deductions to find it beautiful. If *Helen* had not appeared beautiful to the *Greeks* and *Trojans* but by force of argument, we had never been told of the *Trojan* war.

On the other side, *Aristophanes* is an author more considerable than one would imagine. The History of *Greece* could not pass over him, when it comes to touch upon the people of *Athens*; this alone might procure him

him respect, even when he was not considered as a comic poet. But when his writings are taken into view, we find him the only author from whom may be drawn a just idea of the comedy of his age; and farther, we find in his pieces, that he often makes attacks upon the tragic writers, particularly upon the three chief, whose valuable remains we have had under examination; and, what is yet worse, fell sometimes upon the state, and upon the gods themselves.

The chief heads
of this dis-
course.

II. These considerations have determined me to follow, in my representation of this writer, the same method which I have taken in several tragic pieces, which is that of giving an exact analysis as far as the matter would allow, from which I deduce four important systems. First, Upon the nature of the comedy of that age, without omitting that of *Menander* *. Secondly, Upon the vices

* *Menander*, an Athenian, son of *Diopetres* and *Hegesfratus*, was apparently the most eminent of the writers of the new comedy. He had been a scholar of *Theophrastus*: his passion for the women brought infamy upon him: he was squint-eyed, and very lively. Of the one hundred and eighty comedies, or, according to *Suidas*, the eighty which he composed, and which are all said to be translated by *Terence*, we have now only a few fragments remaining. He flourished about the 115th olympiad, 318 years before the Christian *Æra*. He was drowned as he was bathing in the port of *Pireus*. I have told in another place, what is said of one *Philemon*, his antagonist, not so good a poet as himself, but one who often gained the prize. This *Philemon* was older than him, and was much in fashion in the time of *Alexander the Great*. He expressed all his wishes in two lines, 'To have health, and fortune, and pleasure, and never to be in debt, is all I desire.' He was very covetous,

and government of the *Atbenians*. Thirdly, Upon the notion we ought to entertain of *Aristophanes*, with respect to *Eschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*. Fourthly, Upon the jest which he makes upon the gods. These things will not be treated in order, as a regular discourse seems to require, but will arise sometimes separately, sometimes together, from the view of each particular comedy, and from the reflections which this free manner of writing will allow. I shall conclude with a short view of the whole, and so finish my design.

III. I shall not repeat here what *Madame Dacier*, and so many others before her, have collected of all that can be known relating to the history of comedy. Its beginnings are as ob-
History of co-
medy.
 scure as those of tragedy, and there is an appearance that we take these two words in a more extensive meaning; they had both the same original, that is, they began among the festivals of the vintage, and were not distinguished from one another but by a burlesque or serious chorus, which made all the soul and all the body. But, if we give these words a stricter sense, according to the notion which has since been formed, comedy was produced after tragedy, and was in many

covetous, and was pictured with his fingers hooked, so that he set his comedies at a high price. He lived about a hundred years, some say a hundred and one. Many tales are told of his death; *Valerius Maximus* says, that he died with laughing at a little incident: seeing an ass eating his figs, he ordered his servant to drive her away; the man made no great haste, and the ass eat them all. 'Well done, says *Philemon*, now give her some wine.' *Apuleius* and *Quintilian* placed this writer much below *Menander*, but give him the second place.

respects

respects a sequel and imitation of the works of *Eschylus*. It is in reality nothing more than an action set before the sight, by the same artifice of representation. Nothing is different but the object, which is merely ridicule. This original of true comedy will be easily admitted, if we take the word of *Horace*, who must have known better than us the true dates of dramatic works. This poet supports the system which I have endeavoured to establish in the second discourse * so strongly as to amount to demonstrative proof.

Horace † expresses himself thus, “*Thespis* is said to have been the first inventor of a species of tragedy, in which he carried about in carts, players smeared with the dregs of wine, of whom some sung and others declaimed.” This was the first attempt both of tragedy and comedy; for *Thespis* made use only of one speaker, without the least appearance of dialogue. *Eschylus* afterwards exhibited them with more dignity. He placed them on a stage, somewhat above the ground, covered their faces with masks, put buskins on their feet, dressed them in trailing robes, and made them speak in a more lofty style.” *Horace* omits invention of dialogue, which we learn from *Aristotle* ‡. But, however, it may be well enough inferred from the following words of *Horace*; this completion is mentioned while he speaks of *Eschylus*, and therefore to *Eschylus* it must be ascribed: “Then first appeared the old comedy, with great success in its beginning.” Thus we see

* *Greek Theatre*, part I. vol. I.

† *Hor. Poet.* v. 275.

‡ *Poet.* ch. 4.

that the *Greek* comedy arose after tragedy, and by consequence tragedy was its parent. It was formed in imitation of *Eschylus*, the inventor of the tragic drama; or, to go yet higher into antiquity, had its original from *Homer*, who was the guide of *Eschylus*. For, if we credit *Aristotle* *, comedy had its birth from the *Margetes*, a satirical poem of *Homer*, and tragedy from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Thus the design and artifice of comedy were drawn from *Homer* and *Eschylus*. Who is authour

This will appear less surprising, since the of comedy.

ideas of the human mind are always gradual, and arts are seldom invented but by imitation. The first idea contains the seed of the second; this second, expanding itself, gives birth to a third; and so on. Such is the progress of the mind of man; it proceeds in its productions step by step, in the same manner as nature multiplies her works by imitating, or repeating her own act, when she seems most to run into variety. In this manner it was that comedy had its birth, its increase, its improvement, its perfection, and its diversity.

IV. But the question is, who was the happy author of that imitation, and that shew, whether only one like *Eschylus* of tragedy, or whether they were several? for neither *Horace*, nor any before him, explained this †.

This

* Poet. ch. 4.

† The alterations, which have been made in tragedy, were perceptible, and the authours of them unknown; but comedy has lain in obscurity, being not cultivated, like tragedy, from the time of its original: for it was long before the magistrates began to give comic chorusses. It was first exhibited by actors, who played voluntarily, without orders of the magistrates. From the

This poet only quotes three writers who had reputation in the old Comedy, *Eupolis* *, *Cratinus* †, and *Aristophanes*, of whom he says, ‘ That they, and others who wrote in the same way, reprehended the faults of particular persons with excessive liberty.’ These are probably the poets of the greatest reputation, though they were not the first, and we know the names of many others ‡. Among these three we may be sure that *Aristophanes* had the greatest character, since not only the king of *Persia* || expressed a high esteem of him to the Gre-

* time that it began to take some settled form, we know its authors, but are not informed who first used masks, added prologues, increased the number of the actors, and joined all the other things which now belong to it. The first that thought of forming comic fables, were *Epicharmus* and *Phormys*, and consequently this manner came from *Sicily*: *Crates* was the first *Athenian* that adopted it, and forsook the practice of gross raillery that prevailed before.’ *Aristot.* ch. 5. *Crates* flourished in the 82d Olympiad, 450 years before our *Æra*, twelve or thirteen years before *Aristophanes*.

* *Eupolis* was an *Athenian*; his death, which we shall mention presently, is represented differently by authors, who almost all agree that he was drowned. *Eliau* adds an incident which deserves to be mentioned: he says (book x. Of Animals), that one *Augas* of *Eleusis*, made *Eupolis* a present of a fine mastiff, who was so faithful to his master as to worry to death a slave who was carrying away some of his comedies. He adds, that when the poet died at *Egea*, his dog staid by his tomb till he perished by grief and hunger.

† *Cratinus* of *Athens*, who was son of *Callimedes*, died at the age of ninety-seven. He composed twenty comedies, of which nine had the prize; he was a daring writer, but a cowardly warrior.

‡ *Hortelius* has collected the sentences of fifty Greek poets of the different ages of comedy.

|| Interlude of the second act of the comedy intituled *The Acharnians*.

cian ambassadors, as of a man extremely useful to his country, and *Plato* * rated him so high, as to say, that the graces resided in his bosom; but likewise because he is the only writer of whom any comedies have made their way down to us, through the confusion of times. There are not indeed any proofs that he was the inventor of comedy, properly so called, especially since he had not only predecessors who wrote in the same kind, but it is at least a sign, that he had contributed more than any other to bring comedy to the perfection in which he left it. We shall, therefore, not inquire farther, whether regular comedy was the work of a single mind, which seems yet to be unsettled, or of several contemporaries, such as these which *Horace* quotes. We must distinguish three forms which comedy wore, in consequence of the genius of the writers, or of the laws of the magistrates, and the change of the government of many into that of few.

That comedy †, which *Horace* calls the ancient, and which, according to his account, was after *Eschylus*, retained something of its original state, and of the licentiousness which it practised, while it was yet without regularity, and uttered loose jokes and abuse upon the passers-by from the cart of *Thepsis*. Though it was now properly modelled, as might have been worthy of a great theatre and a numerous audience, and deserved the name of a

The old, middle, and new comedy.

* Epigram attributed to *Plato*.

† This history of the three ages of comedy, and their different characters, is taken in part from the valuable fragments of *Plautus*.

regular comedy, it was not yet much nearer to decency. It was a representation of real actions, and exhibited the dress, the motions, and the air, as far as could be done in a mask, of any one who was thought proper to be sacrificed to public scorn. In a city so free, or to say better, so licentious as *Athens* was at that time, nobody was spared, nor even the chief magistrate, nor the very judges, by whose voice comedies were allowed or prohibited. The insolence of those performances reached to open impiety, and sport was made equally with men and gods †. These are the features by which the greatest part of the compositions of *Aristophanes* will be known. In which it may be particularly observed, that not the least appearance of praise will be found, and therefore certainly no trace of flattery or servility.

This licentiousness of the poets, to which in some sort *Socrates* fell a sacrifice, at last was restrained by a law. For the government, which was before shared by all the inhabitants, was now confined to a settled number of citizens. It was ordered, that no man's name should be mentioned on the stage; but poetical malignity was not long in finding the secret of defeating the purpose of the law, and of making themselves ample compensation for the restraint laid upon authors, by the necessity of inventing false names. They set themselves to work upon known and real characters, so that they had now the advantage of giving a more exquisite gratification to the vanity of poets, and the malice of spectators. One had the refined pleasure of setting others to guess, and the

† It will be shewn how and in what sense this was allowed.

other that of guessing right by naming the masks. When pictures are so like, that the name is not wanted, no body inscribes it. The consequence of the law, therefore, was nothing more than to make that done with delicacy, which was done grossly before; and the art, which was expected would be confined within the limits of duty, was only partly transgressed with more ingenuity. Of this *Aristophanes*, who was comprehended in this law, gives us good examples in some of his poems. Such was that which was afterwards called the middle comedy.

The new comedy, or that which followed, was again an excellent refinement, prescribed by the magistrates, who, as they had before forbid the use of real names, forbid afterwards real subjects, and the train of chorusses* too much given to abuse: so that the poets saw themselves reduced to the necessity of bringing imaginary names and subjects upon the stage, which at once purified and enriched the theatre; for comedy from that time was no longer a fury armed with torches, but a pleasing and innocent mirror of human life.

*Chacun peint avec art dans ce nouveau miroir
S'y vit avec plaisir, on crut ne s'y pas voir !
L'avare des premiers rit du tableau fidelle
D'un avare souvent tracé sur son modèle ;
Et mille fois un sat finement exprimé
Méconnut le portrait sur lui-même formé †.*

* Perhaps the chorus was forbid in the middle age of the comedy.
Platonius seems to say so.

† *Despreaux Art. Poet. chant. 8.*

The comedy of *Menander* and *Terence* is, in propriety of speech, the fine comedy. I do not repeat all this after so many writers but just to recall it to memory, and to add to what they have said, something which they have omitted, a singular effect of public edicts appearing in the successive progress of the art. A naked history of poets and of poetry, such as has been often given, is a mere body without soul, unless it be enlivened with an account of the birth, progress, and perfection of the art, and of the causes by which they were produced.

VI. To omit nothing essential which concerns this part, we shall say a word of the *Latin* comedy. When the arts passed from *Greece* to *Rome*, comedy took its turn among the rest: but the *Romans* applied themselves only to the new species, without chorus or personal abuse; though perhaps they might have played some translations of the old or the middle comedy, for *Pliny* gives an account of one which was represented in his own time. But the *Roman* comedy, which was modelled upon the last species of the *Greek*, hath nevertheless its different ages, according as its authors were rough or polished. The pieces of *Livius Andronicus* *, more ancient and less refined than those of the writers who learned the art from him, may be said to compose the first age, or the old *Roman* comedy and tragedy. To him you must join *Nevius* his contemporary, and *Ennius*, who lived some years after him. The second age comprises *Pacuvius*, *Cecilius*, *Accius*, and *Plautus*, unless it shall be thought better to reckon *Plautus*

* The year of *Rome* 514, the first year of the 135th Olympiad.

with *Terence*, to make the third and highest age of the *Latin* comedy, which may properly be called the new comedy, especially with regard to *Terence*, who was the friend of *Lilius*, and the faithful copier of *Menander*.

But the *Romans*, without troubling themselves with this order of succession, distinguished their comedies by the dresses * of the players. The robe, called *prætexta* with large borders of purple, being the formal dress of magistrates in their dignity, and in the exercise of their office, the actors, who had this dress, gave its name to the comedy. This is the same with that called *Trabeata* †, from *Trabea*, the dress of the consuls in peace, and the generals in triumph. The second species introduced the senators not in great offices, but as private men; this was called *Toges*, from *Togata*. The last species was named *Tabernaria*, from the tunic, or the common dress of the people, or rather from the mean houses which were painted on the scene. There is no need of mentioning the farces, which took their name and original from *Atella*, an ancient town of *Campania* in *Italy*, because they differed from the low comedy only by greater licentiousness; nor of those which were called *Palliates*, from the *Greek*, a cloak, in which the *Greek* characters were dressed upon the *Roman* stage, because that habit only distinguished the nation, not the dignity or character, like those which have been mentioned before. To say truth, these are but trifling distinctions; for, as we shall shew in the following pages, comedy

* *Prætextæ, Togatæ, Tabernariæ.*

† *Suet. de Claris Grammat.*, says, that *C. Gelissus*, librarian to *Augustus*, was the author of it.

may be more usefully and judiciously distinguished, by the general nature of its subjects. As to the *Romans*, whether they had, or had not, reason for these names, they have left us so little upon the subject which is come down to us, that we need not trouble ourselves with a distinction which affords us no solid satisfaction. *Plautus* and *Terence*, the only authors of whom we are in possession, give us a fuller notion of the real nature of their comedy, with respect at least to their own times, than can be received from names and terms, from which we have no real exemplification.

VII. Not to go too far out of our way, let us return to *Aristophanes*, the only poet in whom we can now find the *Greek* comedy. He is the single writer,

The *Greek* comedy is reduced only to *Aristophanes*.

whom the violence of time has in some degree spared, after having buried in darkness, and almost in forgetfulness, so many great men, of whom we have nothing but the names and a few fragments, and such slight memorials as are scarcely sufficient to defend them against the enemies of the honour of antiquity; yet these memorials are like the last glimmer of the setting sun, which scarce afford us a weak and fading light: yet from this glimmer we must endeavour to collect rays of sufficient strength to form a picture of the *Greek* comedy approaching as near as possible to the truth.

Of the personal character of *Aristophanes* little is known; what account we can give of it must therefore be had from his comedies. It can scarcely be said with certainty of what country he was; the invectives of his enemies so often called in question his qualification as a citizen,

citizen, that they have made it doubtful. Some said, he was of *Rhodes*, others of *Egena*, a little island in the neighbourhood, and all agreed that he was a stranger. As to himself, he said that he was the son of *Philip*, and born in the *Cydatbenian* quarter; but he confessed that some of his fortune was in *Egena*, which was probably the original seat of his family. He was, however, formally declared a citizen of *Athens*, upon evidence, whether good or bad, upon a decisive judgment, and this for having made his judges merry by an application of a saying of *Telemachus* *, of which this is the sense: "I am, as my mother tells me, the son of *Philip*; for my own part, I know little of the matter, for what child knows his own father?" This piece of merriment did him as much good, as *Archias* received from the oration of *Cicero* †, who said that that poet was a *Roman* citizen. An honour which, if he had not inherited by birth, he deserved for his genius.

Aristophanes ‡ flourished in the age of the great men of Greece, particularly of *Socrates* and *Euripides*, both of which he outlived. He made a great figure during the whole *Peloponnesian* war, not merely as a comic poet by whom the people were diverted, but as the censor of the government, as a man kept in pay by the state to reform it, and almost to act the part of the arbitrator of the public. A particular account of his comedies will best let us into his personal character as a poet, and into the nature of his genius, which is what we are most in-

* *Homer, Odyssey.*

† *Orat. pro Archia Poeta.*

‡ In the 85th year of the Olympiad, 437 before our *Æra*, and 117 of the foundation of *Rome*.

terested to know. It will, however, not be amiss to prepossess our readers a little by the judgments that had been passed upon him by the critics of our own time, without forgetting one of the ancients that deserves great respect.

Aristophanes
censured and
praised.

VIII. “ *Aristophanes*, says father *Rapin*,
“ is not exact in the contrivance of his
“ fables; his fictions are not probable;
“ he brings real characters upon the stage too coarsely
“ and too openly. *Socrates*, whom he ridicules so much
“ in his plays, had a more delicate turn of burlesque
“ than himself, and had his merriment without his im-
“ pudence. It is true, that *Aristophanes* wrote amidst
“ the confusion and licentiousness of the old comedy,
“ and he was well acquainted with the humour of the
“ *Athenians*, to whom uncommon merit always gave
“ disgust, and therefore he made the eminent men of
“ his time the subject of his merriment. But the too
“ great desire which he had to delight the people by
“ exposing worthy characters upon the stage, made him
“ at the same time an unworthy man; and the turn of
“ his genius to ridicule was disfigured and corrupted by
“ the indelicacy and outrageousness of his manners.
“ After all, his pleasantry consists chiefly in new coined
“ puffy language. The dish of twenty-six syllables,
“ which he gives in his last scene of his *Female Orators*,
“ would please few tastes in our days. His language
“ is sometimes obscure, perplexed and vulgar, and his
“ frequent play with words, his oppositions of contra-
“ dictory terms, his mixture of tragic and comic, of
“ serious and burlesque, are all flat; and his jocularities,
“ if

" if you examine it to the bottom, is all false. *Me-*
 " *nander* is diverting in a more elegant manner; his style
 " is pure, clear, elevated, and natural; he persuades like
 " an orator, and instructs like a philosopher; and if we
 " may venture to judge upon the fragments which re-
 " main, it appears that his pictures of civil life are
 " pleasing, that he makes every one speak according to
 " his character, that every man may apply his pictures
 " of life to himself, because he always follows nature,
 " and feels for the personages which he brings upon the
 " stage. To conclude, *Plutarch*, in his comparison of
 " these authours, says, that the Muse of *Aristophanes* is
 " an abandoned prostitute, and that of *Menander* a modest
 " woman."

It is evident that this whole character is taken from
Plutarch. Let us now go on with this remark of father
Rapin, since we have already spoken of the *Latin* co-
 medy, of which he gives us a description.

" With respect to the two *Latin* comic poets, *Plautus*
 " is ingenious in his designs, happy in his conceptions,
 " and fruitful of invention. He has, however, accord-
 " ing to *Horace*, some low jocularities, and those smart
 " sayings, which made the vulgar laugh, made him be
 " pitied by men of higher taste. It is true, that some
 " of his jests are extremely good, but others likewise
 " are very bad. To this every man is exposed, who
 " is too much determined to make fallies of merriment;
 " they endeavour to raise that laughter by hyperboles,
 " which would not arise by a just representation of things.
 " *Plautus* is not quite so regular as *Terence* in the scheme
 " of his designs, or in the distribution of his acts, but
 " he

" he is more simple in his plot; for the fables of *Terence*
 " are commonly complex, as may be seen in his *Andria*,
 " which contains two amours. It was imputed as a
 " fault to *Terence*, that, to bring more action upon the
 " stage, he made one *Latin* comedy out of two *Greek*;
 " but then *Terence* unravels his plot more naturally than
 " *Plautus*, which *Plautus* did more naturally than *Aristo-*
 " *phanes*; and though *Cæsar* calls *Terence* but one half
 " of *Menander*, because, though he had softness and
 " delicacy, there was in him some want of sprightliness
 " and strength; yet he has written in a manner so
 " natural and so judicious, that, though he was then
 " only a copy, he is now an original. No author has
 " ever had a more exact sense of pure nature. Of
 " *Cecilius*, since we have only a few fragments, I shall
 " say nothing. All that we know of him is told us by
 " *Varrus*, that he was happy in the choice of subjects.

Rapin omits many others for the same reason, that we
 have not enough of their works to qualify us for judges.
 While we are upon this subject, it will perhaps not dis-
 please the reader to see here what that critic's opinion is
 of *Lopes de Vega* and *Moliere*. It will appear, that, with
 respect to *Lopes de Vega*, he is rather too profuse of
 praise; that in speaking of *Moliere*, he is too parsimo-
 nious. This piece will, however, be of use to our de-
 sign, when we shall examine to the bottom what it is
 that ought to make the character of comedy.

" No man has ever had a greater genius for comedy
 " than *Lopes de Vega* the Spaniard. He had a fertility
 " of wit, joined with great beauty of conception, and a
 " wonderful readiness of composition; for he has written

" more

" more than three hundred comedies. His name alone
 " gave reputation to his pieces ; for his reputation was
 " so well established, that a work, which came from
 " his hands, was sure to claim the approbation of the
 " public. He had a mind too extensive to be subjected
 " to rules, or restrained by limits. For that reason he
 " gave himself up to his own genius, on which he could
 " always depend with confidence. When he wrote, he
 " consulted no other laws than the taste of his auditors,
 " and regulated his manner more by the success of his
 " work than by the rules of reason. Thus he dis-
 " carded all scruples of unity, and all the superstition of
 " probability." (This is certainly not said with a design
 to praise him, and must be connected with that which
 immediately follows.) " But as for the most part, he
 " endeavours at too much jocularity, and carries ridicule
 " to too much refinement ; his conceptions are often
 " rather happy than just, and rather wild than natural ;
 " for, by subtilizing merriment too far, it becomes too
 " nice to be true, and his beauties lose their power of
 " striking by being too delicate and acute.

" Among us, nobody has carried ridicule in comedy
 " farther than *Moliere*. Our ancient comic writers
 " brought no characters higher than servants, to make
 " sport upon the theatre ; but we are diverted upon the
 " theatre of *Moliere* by marquises and people of quality.
 " Others have exhibited in comedy no species of life
 " above that of a citizen ; but *Moliere* shews us all *Paris*,
 " and the court. He is the only man amongst us, who
 " has laid open those features of nature by which he is
 " exactly marked, and may be accurately known. The

“ beauties of his pictures are so natural, that they are
 “ felt by persons of the least discernment, and his power
 “ of pleasantry received half its force from his power
 “ of copying. His *Misanthrope* is, in my opinion, the
 “ most complete, and likewise the most singular charac-
 “ ter that has ever appeared upon the stage: but the
 “ disposition of his comedies is always defective some
 “ way or another. This is all which we can observe in
 “ general upon comedy.”

Such are the thoughts of one of the most refined
 judges of works of genius, from which, though they
 are not all oraculous, some advantages may be drawn,
 as they always make some approaches to truth.

Madame *Dacier**, having her mind full of the merit
 of *Aristophanes*, expresses herself in this manner: “ No
 “ man had ever more discernment than him, in finding
 “ out the ridiculous, nor a more ingenious manner of
 “ shewing it to others. His remarks are natural and
 “ easy, and, what very rarely can be found, with great
 “ copiousness he has great delicacy. To say all at once,
 “ the *Attic* wit, of which the ancients made such boast,
 “ appears more in *Aristophanes* than in any other that I
 “ know of in antiquity. But what is most of all to be
 “ admired in him is, that he is always so much master
 “ of the subject before him, that, without doing any
 “ violence to himself, he finds a way to introduce natu-
 “ rally things which at first appeared most distant from
 “ his purpose; and even the most quick and unexpected
 “ of his desultory fallies appear the necessary consequence

* Preface to *Plutus*. Paris, 1684.

“ of the foregoing incidents. This is that art which
 “ sets the dialogues of *Plato* above imitation, which we
 “ must consider as so many dramatic pieces, which are
 “ equally entertaining by the action and by the dia-
 “ logue. The style of *Aristophanes* is no less pleasing
 “ than his fancy ; for, besides its clearness, its vigour,
 “ and its sweetness, there is in it a certain harmony so
 “ delightful to the ear, that there is no pleasure equal to
 “ that of reading it. When he applies himself to vulgar
 “ mediocrity of style, he descends without meanness :
 “ when he attempts the sublime, he is elevated without
 “ obscurity ; and no man has ever had the art of blend-
 “ ing all the different kinds of writing so equally toge-
 “ ther. After having studied all that is left us of *Gre-*
 “ *cian* learning, if we have not read *Aristophanes*, we
 “ cannot yet know all the charms and beauties of that
 “ language.”

IX. This is a pompous eulogium : but let us suspend our opinion, and hear that of *Plutarch*, who, being an ancient, well deserves our attention, at least after we have heard the moderns before him. This is then the sum of his judgment concerning *Aristophanes* and *Menander*. To *Menander* he gives the preference, without allowing much competition. He objects to *Aristophanes*, that he carries all his thoughts beyond nature, that he writes rather to the crowd than to men of character ; that he affects a style obscure and licentious, tragical, pompous, and mean, sometimes serious, and sometimes ludicrous, even to puerility ; that he makes none of his personages speak according to any distinct character, so

that

Plutarch's sen-
timent upon A-
ristophanes and
Menander.

that in his scenes the son cannot be known from the father, the citizen from the boor, the hero from the shop-keeper, or the divine from the serving-man. Whereas the diction of *Menander*, which is always uniform and pure, is very justly adapted to different characters, rising when it is necessary to vigorous and sprightly comedy, yet without transgressing the proper limits, or losing sight of nature, in which *Menander*, says *Plutarch*, has attained a perfection to which no other writer has arrived. For, what man, besides himself, has ever found the art of making a diction equally suitable to women and children, to old and young, to divinities and heroes? Now *Menander* has found this happy secret, in the equality and flexibility of his diction, which, though always the same, is nevertheless different upon different occasions; like a current of clear water (to keep closely to the thoughts of *Plutarch*), which running through banks differently turned, complies with all their turns backward and forward, without changing any thing of its nature, or its purity. *Plutarch* mentions it as a part of the merit of *Menander*, that he began very young, and was stopped only by old age, at a time when he would have produced the greatest wonders, if death had not prevented him. This, joined to a reflection, which he makes as he returns to *Aristophanes*, shews that *Aristophanes* continued a long time to display his powers: for his poetry, says *Plutarch*, is a strumpet that affects sometimes the airs of a prude, but whose impudence cannot be forgiven by the people, and whose affected modesty is despised by men of decency. *Menander*, on the contrary, always shews himself a man agreeable and witty,

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a companion desirable upon the stage, at table, and in gay assemblies; an extract of all the treasures of *Greece*, who deserves always to be read, and always to please. His irresistible power of persuasion, and the reputation which he has had, of being the best master of language of *Greece*, sufficiently shews the delightfulness of his style. Upon this article of *Menander*, *Plutarch* does not know how to make an end: he says, that he is the delight of philosophers fatigued with study; that they use his works as a meadow enamelled with flowers, where a purer air gratifies the sense; that, notwithstanding the powers of the other comic poets of *Athens*, *Menander* has always been considered as possessing a salt peculiar to himself, drawn from the same waters that gave birth to *Venus*. That, on the contrary, the salt of *Aristophanes* is bitter, keen, coarse, and corrosive; that one cannot tell whether his dexterity, which has been so much boasted, consists not more in the characters than in the expression, for he is charged with playing often upon words, with affecting antithetical allusions; that he has spoiled the copies which he endeavoured to take after nature; that artifice in his plays is wickedness, and simplicity, brutishness; that his jocularities ought to raise hisses rather than laughter; that his amours have more impudence than gaiety; and that he has not so much written for men of understanding, as for minds blackened with envy and corrupted with debauchery.

X. After such a character there seems no need of going further; and one would think, that it would be better to bury for ever the memory of so hateful a writer, that makes us

The justification of *Aristophanes*.

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so poor a recompense for the loss of *Menander*, who cannot be recalled. But, without shewing any mercy to the indecent or malicious sallies of *Aristophanes*, any more than to *Plautus* his imitator, or at least the inheritor of his genius, may it not be allowed us to do, with respect to him, what, if I mistake not, *Lucretius** did to *Ennius*, from whose muddy verses he gathered jewels? *Enni de stercore gemmas.*

Besides, we must not believe that *Plutarch*, who lived more than four ages after *Menander*, and more than five after *Aristophanes*, has passed so exact a judgment upon both, but that it may be fit to re-examine it. *Plato*, the contemporary of *Aristophanes*, thought very differently, at least of his genius; for, in his piece called the *Entertainment*, he gives that poet a distinguished place, and makes him speak, according to his character, with *Socrates* himself; from which, by the way, it is apparent, that this dialogue of *Plato* was composed before the time that *Aristophanes* wrote his *Clouds* against *Socrates*. *Plato* is likewise said to have sent a copy of *Aristophanes* to *Dionysius* the tyrant, with advice to read it diligently, if he would attain a complete judgment of the state of the *Athenian* republic.

Many other scholars have thought, that they might depart somewhat from the opinion of *Plutarch*. *Frischlinus*, for example, one of the commentators upon *Aristophanes*, though he justly allows his taste to be less pure than that of *Menander*, has yet undertaken his defence against the outrageous censure of the ancient critic. In

* *Brumoy* has mistaken *Lucretius* for *Virgil*.

the first place, he condemns without mercy his ribaldry and obscenity. But this part, so worthy of contempt, and written only for the lower people, according to the remark of *Boivin*, bad as it is, after all is not the chief part which is left of *Aristophanes*. I will not say with *Frischlinus*, that *Plutarch* seems in this to contradict himself, and in reality commends the poet, when he accuses him of having adapted his language to the stage; by the stage, in this place, he meant the theatre of *Farces*, on which low mirth and buffoonry was exhibited. This plea of *Frischlinus* is a mere cavil; and though the poet had obtained his end, which was to divert a corrupted populace, he would not have been less a bad man, nor less a despicable poet, notwithstanding the excuse of his defender. To be able in the highest degree to divert fools and libertines, will not make a poet: it is not, therefore, by this defence that we must justify the character of *Aristophanes*. The depraved taste of the crowd, who once drove away *Cratinus* and his company, because the scenes had not low buffoonry enough for their taste, will not justify *Aristophanes*, since *Menander* found a way of changing the taste by giving a sort of comedy, not indeed so modest as *Plutarch* represents it, but less licentious than before. Nor is *Aristophanes* better justified by the reason which he himself offers, when he says, that he exhibited debauchery upon the stage, not to corrupt the morals, but to mend them. The sight of gross faults is rather a poison than a remedy.

The apologist has forgot one reason, which appears to me essential to a just account. As far as we can judge by appearance, *Plutarch* had in his hands all the plays

of *Aristophanes*, which were at least fifty in number. In these he saw more licentiousness than has come to our hands, though in the eleven that are still remaining, there is much more than could be wished.

Plutarch censures him in the second place for playing upon words; and against this charge *Friseblinus* defends him with less skill. It is impossible to exemplify this in *French*. But after all, this part is so little, that it deserved not so severe a reprehension, especially since amongst those sayings, there are some so mischievously malignant, that they became proverbial, at least by the sting of their malice, if not by the delicacy of their wit. One example will be sufficient: speaking of the tax-gatherers, or the excise-men of *Athens*, he crushes them at once by observing, *non quod essent ταμιαί, sed λαμιαί*. The word *lamiae* signified *walking spirits*, which, according to the vulgar notion, devoured men; this makes the spirit of the sarcasm against the tax-gatherers. This cannot be rendered in our language; but if any thing as good had been said in *France* on the like occasion, it would have lasted too long, and, like many other sayings amongst us, been too well received. The best is, that *Plutarch* himself confesses that it was extremely applauded.

The third charge is, a mixture of tragic and comic style. This accusation is certainly true; *Aristophanes* often gets into the buskin: but we must examine upon what occasion. He does not take upon him the character of a tragic writer; but, having remarked that his trick of parody was always well received by a people who liked to laugh at that for which they had been just weeping,

weeping, he is eternally using the same craft; and there is scarce any tragedy or striking passage known by memory by the *Athenians*, which he does not turn into merriment, by throwing over it a dress of ridicule and burlesque, which is done sometimes by changing or transposing the words, and sometimes by an unexpected application of the whole sentence. These are the shreds of tragedy, in which he arrays the comic muse, to make her still more comic. *Cratinus* had before done the same thing; and we know that he made a comedy called *Ulysses*, to burlesque *Homer* and his *Odyssey*; which shews, that the wits and poets are, with respect to one another, much the same at all times, and that it was at *Athens* as here. I will prove this system by facts, particularly with respect to the merriment of *Aristophanes* upon our three celebrated tragedians. This being the case, the mingled style of *Aristophanes* will, perhaps, not deserve so much censure as *Plutarch* has vented. We have no need of the Travesty of *Virgil*, nor the parodies of our own time, nor of the *Lutrin* of *Boileau*, to shew us that this medley may have its merit upon particular occasions.

The same may be said in general of his obscurity, his meannesses, and his high flights, and of all the seeming inequality of style, which puts *Plutarch* in a rage. These censures can never be just upon a poet, whose style has always been allowed to be perfectly *Attic*, and of an *Atticism* which made him extremely delightful to the lovers of the *Athenian* taste. *Plutarch*, perhaps, rather means to blame the chorusses, of which the language is sometimes elevated, sometimes burlesque, always very

poetical, and therefore in appearance not suitable to comedy. But the chorus, which had been borrowed from tragedy, was then all the fashion, particularly for pieces of satire, and *Aristophanes* admitted them like the other poets of the old, and perhaps of the middle comedy; whereas *Menander* suppressed them, not so much in compliance with his own judgment, as in obedience to the public edicts. It is not, therefore, this mixture of tragic and comic that will place *Aristophanes* below *Menander*.

The fifth charge is, that he kept no distinction of character; that, for example, he makes women speak like orators, and orators like slaves: but it appears by the characters which he ridicules, that this objection falls of itself. It is sufficient to say, that a poet who painted, not imaginary characters, but real persons, men well known, citizens whom he called by their names, and shewed in dresses like their own, and masks resembling their faces, whom he branded in the sight of a whole city, extremely haughty and full of derision; it is sufficient to say, that such a poet could never be supposed to miss his characters. The applause, which his licentiousness produced, is too good a justification; besides, if he had not succeeded, he exposed himself to the fate of *Eupolis*, who in a comedy called the *Drowned Man*, having imprudently pulled to pieces particular persons, more powerful than himself, was laid hold of, and drowned more effectually than those he had drowned upon the open stage.

The condemnation of the poignancy of *Aristophanes*, as having too much acrimony, is better founded. Such

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was the turn of a species of comedy, in which all licentiousness was allowed; in a nation which made every thing a subject of laughter, in its jealousy of immoderate liberty, and its enmity to all appearance of rule and superiority; for the genius of independency naturally produces a kind of satire more keen than delicate, as may be easily observed in most of the inhabitants of islands. If we do not say with *Longinus*, that a popular government kindles eloquence, and that a lawful monarchy stifles it; at least it is easy to discover by the event, that eloquence in different governments takes a different appearance. In republics it is more sprightly and violent, and in monarchies more insinuating and soft. The same thing may be said of ridicule: it follows the cast of genius, as genius follows that of government. Thus the republican raillery, particularly of the age which we are now considering, must have been rougher than that of the age which followed it, for the same reason, that *Horace* is more delicate, and *Lucilius* more pointed. A dish of satire was always a delicious treat to human malignity; but that dish was differently seasoned, as the manners were polished more or less. By polished manners I mean that good-breeding, that art of reserve and self-restraint, which is the consequence of dependence. If one was to determine the preference due to one of those kinds of pleasantry, of which both have their value, there would not need a moment's hesitation, every voice would join in favour of the softer, yet without contempt of that which is rough. *Menander* will, therefore, be preferred, but *Aristophanes* will not be despised, especially since he was the first who quitted that wild practice of

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satirising

satirising at liberty right or wrong, and by a comedy of another cast made way for the manner of *Menander*, more agreeable yet, and less dangerous. There is yet another distinction to be made between the acrimony of the one, and the softness of the other; the works of the one are acrimonious, and of the other soft, because the one exhibited personal, and the other general characters; which leaves us still at liberty to examine, if these different designs might not be executed with equal delicacy.

We shall know this by a view of the particulars; in this place we say only that the reigning taste, or the love of striking likenesses, might justify *Aristophanes* for having turned, as *Plutarch* says, art into malignity, simplicity into brutality, merriment into farce, and amour into impudence; if in any age a poet could be excused for painting public folly and vice in their true colours.

There is a motive of interest at the bottom which disposed *Eliau*, *Plutarch*, and many others, to condemn this poet without appeal. *Socrates*, who is said to have been destroyed by a poetical attack, at the instigation of two wretches †, has too many friends among good men, to have pardon granted to so horrid a crime. This has filled them with an implacable hatred against *Aristophanes*, which is mingled with the spirit of philosophy, a spirit, wherever it comes, more dangerous than any other. A common enemy will confess some good qualities in his adversary; but a philosopher, made partial by philosophy, is never at rest till he has totally destroyed

† It is not certain, that *Aristophanes* did procure the death of *Socrates*: but, however, he is certainly criminal for having, in the *Clouds*, accused him publicly of impiety.

him who has hurt the most tender part of his heart; that is, has disturbed him in his adherence to some character, which, like that of *Socrates*, takes possession of the mind. The mind is the freest part of man, and the most tender of its liberties: possessions, life, and reputation, may be in another's power, but opinion is always independent. If any man can obtain that gentle influence, by which he ingratiates himself with the understanding, and makes a sect in a commonwealth, his followers will sacrifice themselves for him, and nobody will be pardoned that dares to attack him justly or unjustly, because that truth, real or imaginary, which he maintained, is now become an idol. Time will do nothing for the extinction of this hatred; it will be propagated from age to age; and there is no hope that *Aristophanes* will ever be treated with tenderness by the disciples of *Plato*, who made *Socrates* his hero. Every body else may, perhaps, confess, that *Aristophanes*, though in one instance a bad man, may nevertheless be a good poet; but distinctions, like these, will not be admitted by prejudice and passion, and one or other dictates all characters, whether good or bad.

As I add my own reasons, such as they are, for or against *Aristophanes*, to those of *Frischlinus* his defender, I must not omit one thing, which he has forgot, and which, perhaps, without taking in the rest, put *Plutarch* out of humour, which is that perpetual farce which goes through all the comedies of *Aristophanes*, like the character of *Harlequin* on the *Italian* theatre. What kind of personages are clouds, frogs, wasps, and birds? *Plutarch*, used to a comic stage of a very different appearance,

ance, must have thought them strange things; and yet stranger must they appear to us, who have a newer kind of comedy, with which the *Greeks* were unacquainted. This is what our poet may be charged with, and what may be proved beyond refutation. This charge comprises all the rest, and against this I shall not pretend to justify him. It would be of no use to say, that *Aristophanes* wrote for an age that required shews which filled the eye, and grotesque paintings in satirical performances; that the crowds of spectators, which sometimes neglected *Cratinus* to throng *Aristophanes*, obliged him more and more to comply with the ruling taste, lest he should lose the public favour by pictures more delicate and less striking; that in a state, where it was considered as policy to lay open every thing that had the appearance of ambition, singularity, or knavery, comedy was become a haranguer, a reformer, and a public counsellor, from whom the people learned to take care of their most valuable interests; and that this comedy, in the attempt to lead and to please the people, claimed a right to the strongest touches of eloquence, and had likewise the power of personal painting peculiar to herself. All these reasons, and many others, would disappear immediately, and my mouth would be stopped with a single word, with which every body would agree: my antagonist would tell me, that such an age was to be pitied, and passing on from age to age, till he came to our own, he would conclude flatly, that we are the only possessors of common sense; a determination with which the *French* are too much reproached, and which overthrows all the prejudice in favour of antiquity. At the sight of so

many happy touches, which one cannot help admiring in *Aristophanes*, a man might, perhaps, be inclined to lament that such a genius was thrown into an age of fools: but what age has been without them? And have not we ourselves reason to fear, lest posterity should judge of *Moliere* and his age, as we judge of *Aristophanes*? *Menander* altered the taste, and was applauded in *Athens*; but it was after *Athens* was changed. *Terence* imitated him at *Rome*, and obtained the preference over *Plautus*, though *Cesar* called him but a demi-*Menander*, because he appears to want that spirit and vivacity which he calls the *vis comica*. We are now weary of the manner of *Menander* and *Terence*, and leave them for *Moliere*, who appears like a new star in a new course. Who can answer, that in such an interval of time as has past between these four writers, there will not arise another author, or another taste, that may bring *Moliere*, in his turn, into neglect? Without going further, our neighbours, the *English*, think he wants force and fire. Whether they are right, or no, is another question; all that I mean to advance is, that we are to fix it as a conclusion, that comic authors must grow obsolete with the modes of life, if we admit any one age, or any one climate, for the sovereign rule of taste. But let us talk with more exactness, and endeavour by an exact analysis to find out what there is in comedy, whether of *Aristophanes* and *Plautus*, of *Menander* and *Terence*, of *Moliere* and his rivals, which is never obsolete, and must please all ages and all nations.

Remarkable difference between the state of comedy, and other works of genius, with regard to their duration.

XI. I now speak particularly of comedy; for we must observe, that between that and other works of literature, especially tragedy, there is an essential difference, which the enemies of antiquity will not understand, and which I shall endeavour palpably to shew.

All works shew the age in which they are produced; they carry its stamp upon them; the manners of the times are impressed by indelible marks. If it be allowed, that the best of past times were rude in comparison with ours, the cause of the ancients is decided against them; and the want of politeness, with which their works are charged in our days, must be generally confessed. History alone seems to claim exemption from this accusation. Nobody will dare to say of *Herodotus* or *Thucydides*, of *Livius* or *Tacitus*, that which has been said without scruple of *Homer* and the ancient poets. The reason is, that history takes the nearest way to its purpose, and gives the characters and practices of nations, be they what they will; it has no dependance upon its subject, and offers nothing to examination, but the art of the narrative. An history of *China* well written, would please a *Frenchman* as well as one of *France*. It is otherwise with mere works of genius, they depend upon their subjects, and consequently upon the characters and the practices of the times in which they were written; this at least is the light in which they are beheld. This rule of judgment is not equitable; for, as I have said over and over, all the orators and the poets are painters, and merely painters. They exhibit nature

tute as it is before them, influenced by the accidents of education, which, without changing it intirely, yet give it, in different ages and climates, a different appearance; but we make their success depend in a great degree upon their subject, that is, upon circumstances which we measure by the circumstances of our own days. According to this prejudice, oratory depends more upon its subject than history, and poetry yet more than oratory. Our times, therefore, shew more regard to *Herodotus* and *Suetonius*, than to *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, and more to all these than to *Homer* or *Virgil*. Of this prejudice, there are regular gradations; and to come back to the point which we have left, we shew, for the same imperceptible reason, less regard to tragic poets than to others. The reason is, that the subjects of their paintings are more examined than the art. Thus comparing the *Achilles* and *Hippolytus* of *Euripides*, with those of *Racine*, we drive them off the stage, without considering that *Racine's* heroes will be driven off, in a future age, if the same rule of judgment be followed, and one time be measured by another.

Yet tragedy having the passions for its object, is not wholly exposed to the caprice of our taste, which would make our own manners the rule of human kind; for the passions of *Grecian* heroes are often dressed in external modes of appearance that disgust us, yet they break through the veil when they are strongly marked, as we cannot deny them to be in *Eschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*. The essence then gets the better of the circumstance. The passions of *Greece* and *France* do not so much differ by the particular characters of particular
ages,

ages, as they agree by the participation of that which belongs to the same passion in all ages. Our three tragic poets will, therefore, get clear by suffering only a little ridicule, which falls directly upon their times; but these times and themselves will be well recompensed by the admiration which their art will irresistibly inforce.

Comedy is in a more lamentable situation; for, not only its object is the ridiculous, which, though in reality always the same, is so dependant on custom as to change its appearance with time, and with place; but the art of a comic writer is, to lay hold of that species of the ridiculous which will catch the spectators of the present hour, without regard to futurity. But, though comedy has attained its end, and diverted the pit, for which it was written; if it goes down to posterity, it is in a new world, where it is no longer known; it becomes there quite a foreigner, because there are no longer the same originals, nor the same species of the ridiculous, nor the same spectators, but a set of merciless readers, who complain that they are tired with it, though it once filled *Athens*, *Rome*, or *Paris*, with merriment. This position is general, and comprises all poets and all ages. To say all at once, comedy is the slave of its subject, and of the reigning taste; tragedy is not subject to the same degree of slavery, because the ends of the two species of poetry are different. For this reason, if we suppose that in all ages there are critics who measure every thing by the same rule, it will follow, that if the comedy of *Aristophanes* be become obsolete, that of *Menander* likewise, after having delighted *Athens*, and revived again at *Rome*, at last suffered by the force of time. The Muse of
Moliere

Moliere has almost made both of them forgotten, and would still be walking the stage, if the desire of novelty did not in time make us weary of that which we have too frequently admired.

Those who have endeavoured to render their judgment independant upon manners and customs, and of such men there have been always some, have not judged so severely either of times, or of writers; they have discovered, that a certain resemblance runs through all polished ages, which are alike in essential things, and differ only in external manners, which, if we except religion, are things of indifference; that wherever there is genius, politeness, liberty, or plenty, there prevails an exact and delicate taste, which, however hard to be expressed, is felt by those that were born to feel it; that *Athens*, the inventress of all the arts, the mother first of the *Roman* and then of general taste, did not consist of stupid savages; that the *Athenian* and *Augustan* ages having always been considered as times that enjoyed a particular privilege of excellence, though we may distinguish the good authors from the bad, as in our own days, yet we ought to suspend the vehemence of criticism, and proceed with caution and timidity before we pass sentence upon times and writers, whose good taste has been universally applauded. This obvious consideration has disposed them to pause; they have endeavoured to discover the original of taste, and have found that there is not only a stable and immutable beauty, as there is a common understanding in all times and places, which is never obsolete; but there is another kind of beauty, such as we are now treating, which depends upon times
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and places, and is therefore changeable. Such is the imperfection of every thing below, that one mode of beauty is never found without a mixture of the other, and from these two blended together results what is called the taste of an age. I am now speaking of an age sprightly and polite, an age which leaves works for a long time behind it, an age which is imitated or criticised when revolutions have thrown it out of sight.

Upon this incontestable principle, which supposes a beauty universal and absolute, and a beauty likewise relative and particular, which are mingled through one work in very different proportions, it is easy to give an account of the contrary judgments passed on *Aristophanes*. If we consider him only with respect to the beauties, which, though they do not please us, delighted the *Athenians*, we shall condemn him at once, though even this sort of beauty may sometimes have its original in universal beauty carried to extravagance. Instead of commending him for being able to give merriment to the most refined nation of those days, we shall proceed to place that people, with all their atticism, in the rank of savages whom we take upon us to degrade because they have no other qualifications but innocence and plain understanding. But have not we likewise amidst our more polished manners, beauties merely fashionable, which make part of our writings as of the writings of former times; beauties of which our self-love now makes us fond, but which, perhaps, will disgust our grand-sons? Let us be more equitable, let us leave this relative beauty to its real value more or less in every age: or, if we must pass judgment upon it, let us say that these touches

in *Aristophanes*, *Menander*, and *Moliere*, were well struck off in their own time; but, that comparing them with true beauty, that part of *Aristophanes* was a colouring too strong, that of *Menander* was too weak, and that of *Moliere* was a peculiar varnish formed of one and the other, which, without being an imitation, is itself imitable, yet depending upon time, which will efface it by degrees, as our notions, which are every day changing, shall receive a sensible alteration. Much of this has already happened since the time of *Moliere*, who, if he was now to come again, must take a new road.

With respect to unalterable beauties, of which comedy admits much fewer than tragedy, when they are the subject of our consideration, we must not too easily set *Aristophanes* and *Plautus* below *Menander* and *Terence*. We may properly hesitate with *Boileau*, whether we shall prefer the *French* comedy to the *Greek* and *Latin*. Let us only give, like him, the great rule for pleasing in all ages, and the key by which all the difficulties in passing judgment may be opened. This rule and this key are nothing else but the ultimate design of the comedy.

*Etudiez la cour, & connoissez la ville:
L'une & l'autre est toujours en modèles fertile.
C'est par-là que Moliere illustrant ses écrits
Peut-être de son art eût remporté le prix,
Si moins ami du peuple en ses doctes peintures
Il n'eût point fait souvent grimacer ses figures,
Quitté pour le bouffon l'agréable & le fin,
Et sans honte à Terence allié Tabarin *.*

* *Boileau Art. Poet. chant. 3.*

In truth, *Aristophanes* and *Plautus* united buffoonery and delicacy in a greater degree than *Moliere*; and for this they may be blamed. That which then pleased at *Athens*, and at *Rome*, was a transitory beauty, which had not sufficient foundation in truth, and therefore the taste changed. But, if we condemn those ages for this, what age shall we spare? Let us refer every thing to permanent and universal taste, and we shall find in *Aristophanes* at least as much to commend as censure.

Tragedy more
uniform than
comedy.

XII. But before we go on to his works, it may be allowed to make some reflections upon tragedy and comedy. Tragedy, though different according to the difference of times and writers, is uniform in its nature, being founded upon the passions which never change. With comedy it is otherwise. Whatever difference there is between *Eschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*; between *Cornille* and *Racine*; between the *French* and the *Greeks*, it will not be found sufficient to constitute more than one species of tragedy.

The works of those great masters are, in some respects, like the sea-nymphs, of whom *Ovid* says, "That their faces were not the same, yet so much alike that they might be known to be sisters."

*Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.*

The reason is, that the same passions give action and animation to them all. With respect to the comedies of *Aristophanes* and *Plautus*, *Menander* and *Terence*, *Moliere*

here and his imitators, if we compare them one with another, we shall find something of a family likeness, but much less strongly marked, on account of the different appearance which ridicule and pleasantry take from the different manners of every age. They will not pass for sisters, but for very distant relations. The Muse of *Aristophanes* and *Plautus*, to speak of her with justice, is a bacchanal at least, whose malignant tongue is dipped in gall, or in poison dangerous as that of the aspic or viper; but whose bursts of malice, and sallies of wit, often give a blow where it is not expected. The Muse of *Terence*, and consequently of *Menander*, is an artless and unpainted beauty, of easy gaiety, whose features are rather delicate than striking, rather soft than strong; rather plain and modest than great and haughty, but always perfectly natural.

*Ce n'est pas un portrait, une image semblable :
C'est un fils, un amant, un pere véritable.*

The Muse of *Moliere* is not always plainly dressed; but takes airs of quality, and rises above her original condition, so as to attire herself gracefully in magnificent apparel. In her manners she mingles elegance with foolery, force with delicacy, and grandeur, or even haughtiness, with plainness and modesty. If sometimes, to please the people, she gives a loose to farce, it is only the gay folly of a moment, from which she immediately returns, and which lasts no longer than a slight intoxication. The first might be painted encircled with little satyrs, some grossly foolish, the others delicate, but all

extremely licentious and malignant; monkeys always ready to laugh in your face, and to point out to indiscriminate ridicule, the good and the bad. The second may be shewn encircled with geniuses full of softness and of candour, taught to please by nature alone, and whose honeyed dialect is so much the more insinuating, as there is no temptation to distrust it. The last must be accompanied with the delicate laughter of the court, and that of the city somewhat more coarse, and neither the one nor the other can be separated from her. The Muse of *Aristophanes* and of *Plautus* can never be denied the honour of sprightliness, animation, and invention; nor that of *Menander* and *Terence* the praise of nature and of delicacy; to that of *Moliere* must be allowed the happy secret of uniting all the piquancy of the former, with a peculiar art which they did not know. Of these three sorts of merit, let us shew to each the justice that is due, let us in each separate the pure and the true from the false gold, without approving or condemning either the one or the other in the gross. If we must pronounce in general upon the taste of their writings, we must indisputably allow, that *Menander*, *Terence*, and *Moliere*, will give most pleasure to a decent audience, and consequently that they approach nearer to the true beauty, and have less mixture of beauties purely relative, than *Plautus* and *Aristophanes*.

If we distinguish comedy by its subjects, we shall find three sorts among the *Greeks*, and as many among the *Latins*, all differently dressed: if we distinguish it by ages and authors, we shall again find three sorts; and we shall find three sorts a third time if we regard more closely

closely the subject. As the ultimate and general rules of all these sorts of comedy are the same, it will, perhaps, be agreeable to our purpose to sketch them out before we give a full display of the last class. I can do nothing better on this occasion than transcribe the twenty-fifth reflection of *Rapin* upon poetry in particular.

XIII. "Comedy, says he *, is a re- General rules
 " presentation of common life: its end of comedy.
 " is to shew the faults of particular characters on the
 " stage, to correct the disorder of the people by the
 " fear of ridicule. Thus ridicule is the essential part
 " of a comedy. Ridicule may be in words, or in things;
 " it may be decent, or grotesque. To find what is ri-
 " diculous in every thing, is the gift merely of nature;
 " for all the actions of life have their bright and their
 " dark sides; something serious, and something merry.
 " But *Aristotle*, who has given rules for drawing tears,
 " has given none for raising laughter; for this is merely
 " the work of nature, and must proceed from genius,
 " with very little help from art or matter. The *Spa-*
 " *niards* have a turn to find the ridicule in things much
 " more than we: and the *Italians*, who are natural
 " comedians, have a better turn for expressing it; their
 " language is more proper for it than ours, by an air
 " of drollery which it can put on, and of which ours
 " may become capable when it shall be brought nearer
 " to perfection. In short, that agreeable turn, that
 " gaiety which yet maintains the delicacy of its charac-
 " ter without falling into dulness or into buffoonry,

* *Reflexions sur la Poët.* p. 154. Paris, 1684.

" that elegant raillery which is the flower of fine wit, is
 " the qualification which comedy requires. We must,
 " however, remember that the true artificial ridicule,
 " which is required on the theatre, must be only a tran-
 " script of the ridicule which nature affords. Comedy
 " is naturally written, when, being on the theatre, a
 " man can fancy himself in a private family, or a par-
 " ticular part of the town, and meets with nothing but
 " what he really meets with in the world; for it is no
 " real comedy in which a man does not see his own
 " picture, and find his own manners and those of the
 " people among whom he lives. *Menander* succeeded
 " only by this art among the *Greeks*: and the *Romans*,
 " when they sat at *Terence's* comedies, imagined them-
 " selves in a private party; for they found nothing there
 " which they had not been used to find in common
 " company. The great art of comedy is to adhere to
 " nature without deviation; to have general sentiments
 " and expressions which all the world can understand:
 " for the writer must keep it always in his mind, that
 " the coarsest touches after nature will please more than
 " the most delicate with which nature is inconsistent.
 " However, low and mean words should never be al-
 " lowed upon the stage, if they are not supported with
 " some kind of wit. Proverbs and vulgar smartnesses
 " can never be suffered, unless they have something in
 " them of nature and pleasantry. This is the universal
 " principle of comedy; whatever is represented in this
 " manner must please, and nothing can ever please with-
 " out it. It is by application to the study of nature
 " alone that we arrive at probability, which is the only
 " infal-

" infallible guide to theatrical success : without this pro-
 " bability every thing is defective, and that which has
 " it, is beautiful : he that follows this, can never go
 " wrong ; and the most common faults of comedy pro-
 " ceed from the neglect of propriety, and the precipi-
 " tation of incidents. Care must likewise be taken that
 " the hints, made use of to introduce the incidents, are
 " not too strong, that the spectator may enjoy the plea-
 " sure of finding out their meaning : but commonly the
 " weak place in our comedy is the untying of the plot,
 " in which we almost always fail, on account of the dif-
 " ficulty which there is in disintangling of what has been
 " perplexed. To perplex an intrigue is easy, the ima-
 " gination does it by itself ; but it must be disintangled
 " merely by the judgment, and is, therefore, seldom
 " done happily : and he that reflects a very little, will
 " find that most comedies are faulty by an unnatural
 " catastrophe. It remains to be examined whether co-
 " medy will allow pictures larger than the life, that this
 " strength of the strokes may make a deeper impression
 " upon the mind of the spectators ; that is, if a poet
 " may make a covetous man more covetous, and a
 " peevish man more impertinent and more troublesome
 " than he really is. To which I answer, that this was
 " the practice of *Plautus*, whose aim was to please the
 " people ; but that *Terence*, who wrote for gentlemen,
 " confined himself within the compass of nature, and
 " represented vice without addition or aggravation.
 " However, these extravagant characters, such as the
 " *Citizen turned Gentleman*, and the *Hypochondriac Patient*
 " of *Moliere*, have lately succeeded at court, where de-
 "

“ licacy is carried so far; but every thing, even to provincial interludes, is well received if it has but merit, for we had rather laugh than admire. These are the most important rules of comedy:”

Three sorts of comedy.

XIV. These rules, indeed, are common to the three kinds which I have in my mind; but it is necessary to distinguish each from the rest, which may be done by diversity of matter, which always makes some diversity of management. The old and middle comedy simply represented real adventures: in the same way some passages of history and of fable might form a class of comedies, which should resemble it without having its faults; such is the *Amphitryon*. How many moral tales, how many adventures ancient and modern, how many little fables of *Æsop*, of *Phædrus*, of *Fontaine*, or some other ancient poet, would make pretty exhibitions, if they were all made use of as materials by skilful hands? And have we not seen some like *Timon the Man Hater*, that have been successful in this way? This sort chiefly regards the *Italians*. The ancient exhibition called a satyre, because the satyrs played their part in it, of which we have no other instance than the *Cyclops* of *Euripides*, has, without doubt, given occasion to the pastoral comedies, for which we are chiefly indebted to *Italy*, and which are there more cultivated than in *France*. It is, however, a kind of exhibition that would have its charms, if it was touched with elegance and without meanness; it is the pastoral put into action. To conclude, the new comedy, invented by *Menander*, has produced the comedy properly so called in our times. This is that which has for its subject general pictures of common

mon life, and feigned names and adventures, whether of the court or of the city. This third kind is incontestably the most noble, and has received the strongest sanction from custom. It is likewise the most difficult to perform, because it is merely the work of invention, in which the poet has no help from real passages, or persons, which the tragic poet always makes use of. Who knows but by deep thinking, another kind of comedy may be invented wholly different from the three which I have mentioned; such is the fruitfulness of comedy: but its course is already too wide for the discovery of new fields to be wished, and on ground where we are already so apt to stumble, nothing is so dangerous as novelty imperfectly understood. This is the rock on which men have often split in every kind of pursuit; to go no further, in that of grammar and language: it is better to endeavour after novelty in the manner of expressing common things than to hunt for ideas out of the way, in which many a man loses himself. The ill success of that odd composition *Tragic Comedy*, a monster wholly unknown to antiquity, sufficiently shews the danger of novelty in attempts like these.

XV. To finish the parallel of the two dramas, a question may be revived equally common and important, which has been oftener proposed than well decided: it is, whether comedy or tragedy be most easy or difficult to be well executed. I shall not have the temerity to determine positively a question which so many great geniuses have been afraid to decide: but if it be allowed to every literary man to give his reasons for and against a mere work

Whether tragedy or comedy be the harder to write.

work of genius, considered without respect to its good or bad tendency, I shall in a few words give my opinion, drawn from the nature of the two works, and the qualifications they demand. *Horace* * proposes a question nearly of the same kind: "It has been enquired, whether a good poem be the work of art or nature: for my part, I do not see much to be done by art without genius, nor by genius without knowledge. The one is necessary to the other, and the success depends upon their co-operation." If we should endeavour to accommodate matters in imitation of this decision of *Horace*, it were easy to say at once, that supposing two geniuses equal, one tragic and the other comic, supposing the art likewise equal in each, one would be as easy or difficult as the other; but this, though satisfactory in the simple question put by *Horace*, will not be sufficient here. Nobody can doubt but genius and industry contribute their part to every thing valuable, and particularly to good poetry. But, if genius and study were to be weighed one against the other, in order to discover which must contribute most to a good work, the question would become more curious, and, perhaps, very difficult of solution. Indeed, though nature must have a great part of the expence of poetry, yet no poetry lasts long that is not very correct: the balance, therefore, seems to incline in favour of correction. For is it not known, that *Virgil* with less genius than *Ovid*, is yet valued more by men of exquisite judgment; or, without going so far, *Boileau*, the *Horace* of our time,

* Poet. v. 407.

who composed with so much labour, and asked *Moliere* where he found his rhyme so easily, has said, "If I write four words, I shall blot out three;" has not *Boileau*, by his polished lines, retouched and retouched a thousand times, gained the preference above the works of the same *Moliere*, which are so natural, and produced by so fruitful a genius! *Horace* was of that opinion, for when he is teaching the writers of his age the art of poetry, he tells them in plain terms, that *Rome* would excel in writing as in arms, if the poets were not afraid of the labour, patience, and time required to polish their pieces. He thought every poem was bad that had not been brought ten times back to the anvil, and required that a work should be kept nine years, as a child is nine months in the womb of its mother, to restrain that natural impatience which combine with sloth and self-love to disguise faults; so certain is it that correction is the touch-stone of writing.

The question proposed comes back to the comparison which I have been making between genius and correction, since we are now engaged in enquiring whether there is more or less difficulty in writing tragedy or comedy: for as we must compare nature and study one with another, since they must both concur more or less to make a poet; so if we will compare the labours of two different minds in different kinds of writing, we must, with regard to the authors, compare the force of genius, and with respect to the composition, the difficulties of the task.

The genius of the tragic and comic writer will be easily allowed to be remote from each other. Every
per-

performance, be what it will, requires a turn of mind which a man cannot confer upon himself: it is purely the gift of nature, which determines those who have it, to pursue, almost in spite of themselves, the taste which predominates in their minds. *Pascal* found in his childhood, that he was a mathematician, and *Vandyke* that he was born a painter. Sometimes this internal direction of the mind does not make such evident discoveries of itself; but it is rare to find *Corneilles* who have lived long without knowing that they were poets. *Corneille* having once got some notion of his powers, tried a long time on all sides to know what particular direction he should take. He had first made an attempt in comedy, in an age when it was yet so gross in *France* that it could give no pleasure to polite persons. *Melite* was so well received when he dressed her out, that she gave rise to a new species of comedy and comedians. This success, which encouraged *Corneille* to pursue that sort of comedy of which he was the first inventor, left him no reason to imagine, that he was one day to produce those master-pieces of tragedy, which his muse displayed afterwards with so much splendor; and yet less did he imagine, that his comic pieces, which, for want of any that were preferable, were then very much in fashion, would be eclipsed by another genius * formed upon the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and who would add to their excellencies improvements of his own, and that this modish comedy, to which *Corneille*, as to his idol, dedicated his labours, would quickly be forgot. He wrote first *Medea*, and

* *Moliere*.

afterwards the *Cid*, and, by that prodigious flight of his genius, he discovered, though late, that nature had formed him to run in no other course but that of *Sophocles*. Happy genius that, without rule or imitation, could at once take so high a flight; having once, as I may say, made himself an eagle, he never afterwards quitted the path, which he had worked out for himself, over the heads of the writers of his time: yet he retained some traces of the false taste which infected the whole nation; but even in this, he deserves our admiration, since in time he changed it completely by the reflections he made, and those he occasioned. In short, *Corneille* was born for tragedy, as *Moliere* for comedy. *Moliere*, indeed, knew his own genius sooner, and was not less happy in procuring applause, though it often happened to him as to *Corneille*,

*L'Ignorence & l'Erreur à ses naissantes pièces
En habit de Marquis, en robes de Comtesses,
Vinsent pour diffamer son chef-d'œuvre nouveau,
Et secouer la tête à l'endroit le plus beau.*

But, without taking any farther notice of the time at which either came to the knowledge of his own genius, let us suppose that the powers of tragedy and comedy were as equally shared between *Moliere* and *Corneille*, as they are different in their own nature, and then nothing more will remain than to compare the several difficulties of each composition, and to rate those difficulties together which are common to both.

It

It appears, first, that the tragic poet has in his subject an advantage over the comic, for he takes it from history, and his rival, at least in the more elevated and splendid comedy, is obliged to form it by his own invention. Now, it is not so easy as it might seem to find comic subjects capable of a new and pleasing form; but history is a source, if not inexhaustible, yet certainly so copious as never to leave the genius a-ground. It is true, that invention seems to have a wider field than history: real facts are limited in their number, but the facts which may be feigned have no end; but though, in this respect, invention may be allowed to have the advantage, is the difficulty of inventing to be accounted as nothing? To make a tragedy, is to get materials together, and to make use of them like a skilful architect; but to make a comedy, is to build like *Æsop* in the air. It is in vain to boast that the compass of invention is as wide as the extent of desire: every thing is limited, and the mind of man like every thing else. Besides, invention must be in conformity to nature; but distinct and remarkable characters are very rare in nature herself. *Moliere* has got hold on the principal touches of ridicule. If any man should bring characters less strong, he will be in danger of dulness. Where comedy is to be kept up by subordinate personages, it is in great danger. All the force of a picture must arise from the principal persons, and not from the multitude clustered up together. In the same manner, a comedy, to be good, must be supported by a single striking character, and not by under-parts.

But,

But, on the contrary, tragic characters are without number, though of them the general out-lines are limited; but dissimulation, jealousy, policy, ambition, desire of dominion, and other interests and passions, are various without end, and take a thousand different forms in different situations of history; so that as long as there is tragedy, there may be always novelty. Thus the jealous and dissembling *Mitbridates*, so happily painted by *Racine*, will not stand in the way of a poet who shall attempt a jealous and dissembling *Tiberius*. The stormy violence of an *Achilles* will always leave room for the stormy violence of *Alexander*.

But the case is very different with avarice, trifling vanity, hypocrisy, and other vices, considered as ridiculous. It would be safer to double and treble all the tragedies of our greatest poets, and use all their subjects over and over, as has been done with *Oedipus* and *Sophonisba*, than to bring again upon the stage in five acts a *Miser*, a *Citizen turned Gentleman*, a *Tartuffe*, and other subjects sufficiently known. Not that these popular vices are less capable of diversification, or are less varied by different circumstances, than the vices and passions of heroes; but that if they were to be brought over again in comedies, they would be less distinct, less exact, less forcible, and, consequently, less applauded. Pleasantry and ridicule must be more strongly marked than heroism and pathos, which support themselves by their own force. Besides, though these two things of so different natures could support themselves equally in equal variety, which is very far from being the case; yet comedy, as it now stands, consists not in incidents, but in characters. Now
it

it is by incidents only that characters are diversified, as well upon the stage of comedy, as upon the stage of life. Comedy, as *Moliere* has left it, resembles the pictures of manners drawn by the celebrated *La Bruyere*. Would any man after him venture to draw them over again, he would expose himself to the fate of those who have ventured to continue them. For instance, what could we add to his character of the *Absent Man*? Shall we put him in other circumstances? The principal strokes of absence of mind will always be the same; and there are only those striking touches which are fit for a comedy, of which the end is painting after nature, but with strength and sprightliness like the designs of *Callot*. If comedy were among us what it is in *Spain*, a kind of romance, consisting of many circumstances and intrigues, perplexed and disentangled, so as to surprise; if it was nearly the same with that which *Corneille* practised in his time; if, like that of *Terence*, it went no farther than to draw the common portraits of simple nature, and shew us fathers, sons, and rivals; notwithstanding the uniformity, which would always prevail as in the plays of *Terence*, and probably in those of *Menander*, whom he imitated in his four first pieces, there would always be a resource found either in variety of incidents, like those of the *Spaniards*, or in the repetition of the same characters in the way of *Terence*: but the case is now very different, the public calls for new characters and nothing else. Multiplicity of accidents, and the laborious contrivance of an intrigue, are not now allowed to shelter a weak genius that would find great conveniences in that way of writing. Nor does it suit the taste of comedy,

which

which requires an air less constrained, and such freedom and ease of manners as admits nothing of the romantic. She leaves all the pomp of sudden events to the novels, or little romances, which were the diversion of the last age. She allows nothing but a succession of characters resembling nature, and falling in without any apparent contrivance. *Racine* has likewise taught us to give to tragedy the same simplicity of air and action; he has endeavoured to disentangle it from that great number of incidents, which made it rather a study than diversion to the audience, and which shew the poet not so much to abound in invention, as to be deficient in taste. But, notwithstanding all that he has done, or that we can do, to make it simple, it will always have the advantage over comedy in the number of its subjects, because it admits more variety of situations and events, which give variety and novelty to the characters. A miser, copied after nature, will always be the miser of *Plautus* or *Moliere*; but a *Nero*, or a prince like *Nero*, will not always be the hero of *Racine*. Comedy admits of so little intrigue, that the miser cannot be shewn in any such position as will make his picture new; but the great events of tragedy may put *Nero* in such circumstances as to make him wholly another character.

But, in the second place, over and above the subjects, may we not say something concerning the final purpose of comedy and tragedy? The purpose of the one is to divert, and the other to move; and of these two, which is the easier? To go to the bottom of those purposes; to move is to strike those strings of the heart which is most natural, terror and pity: to divert is to make one

laugh, a thing which indeed is natural enough, but more delicate. The gentleman and the rustic have both sensibility and tenderness of heart, perhaps in greater or less degree; but as they are men alike, the heart is moved by the same touches. They both love likewise to send their thoughts abroad, and to expand themselves in merriment; but the springs which must be touched for this purpose, are not the same in the gentleman and the rustic. The passions depend on nature, and merriment upon education. The clown will laugh at a waggery, and the gentleman only at a stroke of delicate conceit. The spectators of a tragedy, if they have but a little knowledge, are almost all on a level; but with respect to comedy, we have three classes, if not more, the people, the learned, and the court. If there are certain cases in which all may be comprehended in the term people, this is not one of those cases. Whatever father *Rapin* may say about it, we are more willing even to admire than to laugh. Every man that has any power of distinction, laughs as rarely as the philosopher admires; for we are not to reckon those fits of laughter which are not incited by nature, and which are given merely to complaisance, to respect, flattery, and good humour; such as break out at sayings which pretend to smartness in assemblies. The laughter of the theatre is of another stamp. Every reader and spectator judges of wit by his own standard, and measures it by his capacity, or by his condition: the different capacities and conditions of men make them diverted on very different occasions. If, therefore, we consider the end of the tragic and comic poet, the comedian must be involved

in much more difficulties, without taking in the obstructions to be encountered equally by both, in an art which consists in raising the passions, or the mirth of a great multitude. The tragedian has little to do but to reflect upon his own thoughts, and draw from his heart those sentiments which will certainly make their way to the hearts of others, if he found them in his own. The other must take many forms, and change himself almost into as many persons, as he undertakes to satisfy and divert.

It may be said, that, if genius be supposed equal, and success supposed to depend upon genius, the business will be equally easy and difficult to one author and to the other. This objection is of no weight; for the same question still recurs, which is, whether of these two kinds of genius is more valuable or more rare. If we proceed by example, and not by reasoning, we shall decide I think in favour of comedy.

It may be said, that, if merely art be considered, it will require deeper thoughts to form a plan just and simple; to produce happy surprises without apparent contrivance; to carry a passion skilfully through its gradations to its height; to arrive happily to the end by always moving from it, as *Itbaca* seemed to fly *Ulysses*; to unite the acts and scenes; and to raise by insensible degrees a striking edifice, of which the least merit shall be exactness of proportion. It may be added, that in comedy this art is infinitely less, for there the characters come upon the stage with very little artifice or plot: the whole scheme is so connected that we see it at once, and the plan and disposition of the parts make a small

part of its excellence, in comparison of a gloss of pleasantry diffused over each scene, which is more the happy effect of a lucky moment, than of long consideration.

These objections, and many others, which so fruitful a subject might easily suggest, it is not difficult to refute: and if we were to judge by the impression made on the mind by tragedies and comedies of equal excellence, perhaps, when we examine those impressions, it will be found that a fally of pleasantry, which diverts all the world, required more thought than a passage which gave the highest pleasure in tragedy; and to this determination we shall be more inclined when a closer examination shall shew us, that a happy vein of tragedy is opened and effused at less expence, than a well-placed witticism in comedy has required merely to assign its place.

It would be too much to dwell long upon such a digression; and as I have no business to decide the question, I leave both that and my arguments to the taste of each particular reader, who will find what is to be said for or against it. My purpose was only to say of comedy, considered as a work of genius, all that a man of letters can be supposed to deliver without departing from his character, and without palliating in any degree the corrupt use which has been almost always made of an exhibition which in its nature might be innocent; but has been vicious from the time that it has been infected with the wickedness of men. It is not for public exhibitions that I am now writing, but for literary inquiries. The stage is too much frequented, and books too much neglected. Yet it is to the literature of Greece

and

and *Rome* that we are indebted for that valuable taste, which will be insensibly lost by the affected negligence which now prevails of having recourse to originals. If reason has been a considerable gainer, it must be confessed that taste has been somewhat a loser.

To return to *Aristophanes*: so many great men of antiquity, through a long succession of ages, down to our times, have set a value upon his works, that we cannot naturally suppose them contemptible, notwithstanding the essential faults with which he may be justly reproached. It is sufficient to say, that he was esteemed by *Plato* and *Cicero*; and to conclude by that which does him most honour, but still falls short of justification, the strong and sprightly eloquence of *St. Chrysostom* drew its support from the masculine and vigorous atticism of this sarcastic comedian, to whom the father paid the same regard as *Alexander* to *Homer*, that of putting his works under his pillow, that he might read them at night before he slept, and in the morning as soon as he awaked.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

T O

BRUMOY'S GREEK THEATRE.

Summary of the
four articles
treated of in this
discourse.

I. **T**HUS I have given a faithful extract of the remains of *Aristophanes*. That I have not shewn them in their true form, I am not afraid that any body will complain. I have given an account of every thing as far as it was consistent with moral decency. No pen, however cynical or heathenish, would venture to produce in open day the horrid passages which I have put out of sight; and instead of regretting any part that I have suppressed, the very suppression will easily shew to what degree the *Athenians* were infected with licentiousness of imagination and corruption of principles. If the taste of antiquity allows us to preserve what time and barbarity have hitherto spared, religion and virtue at least oblige us not to spread it before the eyes of mankind. To end this work in an useful manner, let us examine in a few words the four particulars which are most striking in the eleven pieces of *Aristophanes*.

Character of
ancient comedy.

II. The first is the character of the ancient comedy, which has no likeness to any thing in nature. Its genius is so wild

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wild and strange, that it scarce admits a definition. In what class of comedy must we place it? It appears to me to be a species of writing by itself. If we had *Phrynichus*, *Plato*, *Eupolis*, *Critinus*, *Ameipsias*, and so many other celebrated rivals of *Aristophanes*, of whom all that we can find are a few fragments scattered in *Plutarch*, *Athenias* and *Suidas*, we might compare them with our poet, settle the general scheme, observe the minuter differences, and form a complete notion of their comic stage. But for want of all this we can fix only on *Aristophanes*, and it is true that he may be in some measure sufficient to furnish a tolerable judgment of the old comedy; for if we believe him, and who can be better credited? he was the most daring of all his brethren the poets, who practised the same kind of writing. Upon this supposition we may conclude, that the comedy of those days consisted in an allegory drawn out and continued; an allegory never very regular, but often ingenious, and almost always carried beyond strict propriety, of satire keen and biting, but diversified, sprightly, and unexpected; so that the wound was given before it was perceived. Their points of satire were thunderbolts, and their wild figures, with their variety and quickness, had the effect of lightning. Their imitation was carried even to resemblance of persons, and their common entertainments was a parody of rival poets joined, if I may so express it, with a parody of manners and habits.

But it would be tedious to draw out to the reader that which he will already have perceived better than myself. I have no design to anticipate his reflections; and there-

fore shall only sketch the picture, which he must finish by himself: he will pursue the subject farther, and form to himself a view of the common and domestic life of the *Athenians*, of which this kind of comedy was a picture, with some aggravation of the features: he will bring within his view all the customs, manners, and vices, and the whole character of the people of *Athens*. By bringing all these together he will fix in his mind an indelible idea of a people in whom so many contraries were united, and who in a manner that can scarce be expressed, connected nobility with the cast of *Athens*, wisdom with madness, rage for novelty, with a bigotry for antiquity, the politeness of a monarchy with the roughness of a republic, refinement with coarseness, independence with slavery, haughtiness with servile compliance, severity of manners with debauchery, a kind of irreligion with piety. We shall do this in reading; as in travelling through different nations we make ourselves masters of their characters by combining their different appearances, and reflecting upon what we see.

The government of the *Athenians*.

III. The government of *Athens* makes a fine part of the ancient comedy. In most states the mystery of government is confined within the walls of the cabinet; even in commonwealths it does not pass but through five or six heads, who rule those that think themselves the rulers. Oratory dares not touch it, and comedy still less. *Cicero* himself did not speak freely upon so nice a subject as the *Roman* commonwealth; but the *Athenian* eloquence was informed of the whole secret, and searches the recesses of the human mind, to fetch it out and expose it to the people.

people. *Demosthenes*, and his contemporaries, speak with a freedom at which we are astonished, notwithstanding the notion we have of a popular government, yet at what time but this did comedy adventure to claim the same rights with civil eloquence? The *Italian* comedy of the last age, all daring as it was, could for its boldness come into no competition with the ancient. It was limited to general satire, which was sometimes carried so far, that the malignity was overlooked in an attention to the wild exaggeration, the unexpected strokes, the pungent wit, and the malignity concealed under such wild flights as became the character of *Harlequin*. But though it so far resembled *Aristophanes*, our age is yet at a great distance from his, and the *Italian* comedy from his scenes. But with respect to the liberty of censuring the government, there can be no comparison made of one age or comedy with another. *Aristophanes* is the only writer of his kind, and is for that reason of the highest value. A powerful state set at the head of *Greece*, is the subject of his merriment, and that merriment is allowed by the state itself. This appears to us an inconsistency; but it is true that it was the interest of the state to allow it, though not always without inconveniency. It was a restraint upon the ambition and tyranny of single men, a matter of great importance to a people so very jealous of their liberty. *Cleon*, *Alcibiades*, *Lamachus*, and many other generals and magistrates, were kept under by tear of the comic strokes of a poet so little cautious as *Aristophanes*. He was once indeed in danger of paying dear for his wit. He professed, as he tells us himself, to be of great use by his writings to the state; and rated his
merit

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merit so high as to complain that he was not rewarded. But, under pretence of this public spirit, he spared no part of the public conduct, neither was government, councils, revenues, popular assemblies, secret proceedings in judicature, choice of ministers, the government of the nobles, or that of the people spared.

The *Acharnians*, the *Peace*, and the *Birds*, are eternal monuments of the boldness of the poet, who was not afraid of censuring the government for the obstinate continuance of a ruinous war, for undertaking new ones, and feeding itself with wild imaginations, and running to destruction as it did for an idle point of honour.

Nothing can be more reproachful to the *Athenians* than his play of the *Knights*, when he represents under an allegory that may be easily seen through, the nation of the *Athenians* as an old doating fellow tricked by a new man, such as *Cleon* and his companions, who were of the same stamp.

A single glance upon *Lyssivrata*, and the *Female Quarters*, must raise astonishment when the *Athenian* policy is set below the schemes of women, whom the author makes ridiculous for no other reason than to bring contempt upon their husbands, who held the helm of government.

The *Wasps* is written to expose the madness of people for lawsuits and litigations, and a multitude of iniquities are laid open.

It may easily be gathered, that notwithstanding the wise laws of *Solon*, which they still professed to follow, the government was falling into decay, for we are not to understand the jests of *Aristophanes* in the literal sense.

It

It is plain that the corruption, though we should suppose it but half as much as we are told, was very great, for it ended in the destruction of *Athens*, which could scarce raise its head again, after it had been taken by *Lysander*. Though we consider *Aristophanes* as a comic writer who deals in exaggeration, and bring down his stories to their true standard, we still find that the fundamentals of their government fail in almost all the essential points. That the people were inveigled by men of ambition; that all councils and decrees had their origin in factious combinations; that avarice and private interest animated all their policy to the hurt of the public; that their revenues were ill managed, their allies improperly treated; that their good citizens were sacrificed, and the bad put in places; that a mad eagerness for judicial litigation took up all their attention within, and that war was made without, not so much with wisdom and precaution, as with temerity and good luck; that the love of novelty and fashion in the manner of managing the public affairs was a madness universally prevalent; and that *Melaubius* says in *Plutarch*, the republic of *Athens* was continued only by the perpetual discord of those that managed its affairs. This remedied the dishonour by preserving the equilibrium, and was kept always in action by eloquence and comedy.

This is what in general may be drawn from the reading *Aristophanes*. The sagacity of the readers will go further: they will compare the different forms of government by which that tumultuous people endeavoured to regulate or increase the democracy, which forms were all fatal to the state, because they were not built upon

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upon lasting foundations, and had all in them the principles of destruction. A strange contrivance it was to perpetuate a state by changing the just proportion which *Solon* had wisely settled between the nobles and the people; and by opening a gate to the skilful ambition of those who had art or courage enough to force themselves into the government by means of the people, whom they flattered with protections that they might more certainly crush them.

The tragic
poets rallied.

IV. Another part of the works of *Aristophanes* are his pleasant reflections upon the most celebrated poets: the shafts which he lets fly at the three heroes of tragedy, and particularly at *Euripides*, might incline the reader to believe that he had little esteem for those great men; and that probably the spectators that applauded him were of his opinion. This conclusion would not be just, as I have already shewn by arguments, which, if I had not offered them, the reader might have discovered better than I. But that I may leave no room for objections, and prevent any shadow of captiousness, I shall venture to observe, that posterity will not consider *Racine* as less a master of the *French* stage because his plays were ridiculed by parodies. Parody always fixes upon the best pieces, and was more to the taste of the *Greeks* than to ours. At present the high theatres give it up to stages of inferior rank; but in *Athens* the comic theatre considered parody as its principal ornament, for a reason which is worth examining. The ancient comedy was not like ours, a remote and delicate imitation; it was the art of gross mimicry, and would have been supposed to have missed

its aim, had it not copied the mien, the walk, the dress, the motions of the face of those whom it exhibited. Now parody is an imitation of this kind; it is a change of serious to burlesque, by a slight variation of words, inflection of voice, or an imperceptible art of mimicry. Parody is to poetry as a masque to a face. As the tragedies of *Eschylus*, of *Sophocles*, and of *Euripides*, were much in fashion, and were known by memory to the people, the parodies upon them would naturally strike and please, when they were accompanied by the grimaces of a good comedian, who mimicked with archness a serious character. Such is the malignity of human nature; we love to laugh at those whom we esteem most, and by this make ourselves some recompence for the unwilling homage which we pay to merit. The parodies upon these poets made by *Aristophanes*, ought to be considered rather as encomiums than satires. They give us occasion to examine whether the criticisms are just or not in themselves: but what is more important, they afford no proof that *Euripides* or his predecessors wanted the esteem of *Aristophanes* or his age. The statues raised to their honour, the respect paid by the *Athenians* to their writings, and the careful preservation of those writings themselves, are immortal testimonies in their favour, and make it unnecessary for me to stop any longer upon so plausible a solution of so frivolous an objection.

V. The most troublesome difficulty, Frequent ridicule of the gods. and that which, so far as I know, has not yet been cleared to satisfaction, is the contemptuous manner in which *Aristophanes* treats the gods. Though
I am

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I am persuaded in my own mind that I have found the true solution of this question, I am not sure that it will make more impression than that of *M. Boivin*, who contents himself with saying, that every thing was allowed to the comic poets; and that even Atheism was permitted to the licentiousness of the stage: that the *Athenians* applauded all that made them laugh; and believed that *Jupiter* himself laughed with them at the smart sayings of a poet. Mr. *Collier*, an *Englishman*, in his remarks upon their stage, attempts to prove that *Aristophanes* was an open Atheist. For my part I am not satisfied with the account either of one or the other, and think it better to venture a new system, of which I have already dropt some hints in this work. The truth is, that the *Athenians* professed to be great laughers; always ready for merriment on whatever subject. But it cannot be conceived that *Aristophanes* should, without punishment, publish himself an Atheist, unless we suppose that Atheism was the opinion likewise of the spectators, and of the judges commissioned to examine the plays; and yet this cannot be suspected of those who boasted themselves the most religious nation, and naturally the most superstitious of all *Greece*. How can we suppose those to be Atheists who passed sentence upon *Diagoras*, *Socrates*, and *Alcibiades*, for impiety? These are glaring inconsistencies. To say like *M. Boivin*, for sake of getting clear of the difficulty, that *Alcibiades*, *Socrates*, and *Diagoras*, attacked religion seriously, and were therefore not allowed, but that *Aristophanes* did it in jest, or was authorised by custom, would be to trifle with the difficulty, and not to clear it. Though the *Athenians* loved merriment,

it is not likely that if *Aristophanes* had professed Atheism, they would have spared him more than *Socrates*, who had as much life and pleasantry in his discourses, as the poet in his comedies. The pungent raillery of *Aristophanes*, and the fondness of the *Athenians* for it, are therefore not the true reason why the poet was spared when *Socrates* was condemned. I shall now solve the question with great brevity.

The true answer to this question is given by *Plutarch* in his treatise of reading of the poets. *Plutarch* attempts to prove that youth is not to be prohibited the reading of the poets; but to be cautioned against such parts as may have bad effects. They are first to be prepossessed with this leading principle, that poetry is false and fabulous. He then enumerates at length the fables which *Homer* and other poets have invented about their deities; and concludes thus: "When therefore there is found in poetical compositions any thing strange and shocking, with respect to gods, or demi-gods, or concerning the virtue of any excellent and renowned characters, he that should receive these fictions as truth would be corrupted by an erroneous opinion: but he that always keeps in his mind the fables and allusions, which it is the business of poetry to contrive, will not be injured by these stories, nor receive any ill impressions upon his thoughts, but will be ready to censure himself, if at any time he happens to be afraid, lest *Neptune* in his rage should split the earth, and lay open the infernal regions." Some pages afterwards, he tells us, "That religion is a thing difficult of comprehension, and above the understand-
ing

“ing of poets ; which it is, says he, necessary to have
“in mind when we read their fables.”

The *Pagans* therefore had their fables, which they distinguished from their religion ; for no one can be persuaded that *Ovid* intended his *Metamorphoses* as a true representation of the religion of the *Romans*. The poets were allowed their imaginations about their gods, as things which have no regard to the public worship. Upon this principle, I say, as I said before, there was amongst the *Pagans* two sorts of religion ; one a poetical, and a real religion : one practical, the other theatrical ; a mythology for the poets, a theology for use. They had fables, and a worship, which though founded upon fable, was yet very different.

Diagoras, Socrates, Plato, and the philosophers of *Athen*, with *Cicero*, their admirer, and the other pretended wise men of *Rome*, are men by themselves. These were the Atheists with respect to the ancients. We must not therefore look into *Plato*, or into *Cicero* for the real religion of the *Pagans*, as distinct from the fabulous. These two authors involve themselves in the clouds, that their opinions may not be discovered. They durst not openly attack the real religion ; but destroyed it by attacking fable.

To distinguish here with exactness the agreement or difference between fable and religion, is not at present my intention : it is not easy * to shew with exactness what was the *Athenian* notion of the nature of the gods whom they worshipped. *Plutarch* himself tells us, that

* See *St. Paul* upon the subject of the *Ignoto Deo*.

this was a thing very difficult for the philosophers. It is sufficient for me that the mythology and theology of the ancients were different at the bottom; that the names of the gods continued the same; and that long custom gave up one to the caprices of the poets, without supposing the other affected by them. This being once settled upon the authority of the ancients themselves, I am no longer surpris'd to see *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, *Neptune*, *Bacchus*, appear upon the stage in the comedy of *Aristophanes*; and at the same time receiving incense in the temples of *Athens*. This is, in my opinion, the most reasonable account of a thing so obscure; and I am ready to give up my system to any other, by which the *Athenians* shall be made more consistent with themselves; those *Athenians* who sat laughing at the gods of *Aristophanes*, while they condemn'd *Socrates* for having appear'd to despise the gods of his country.

VI. A word is now to be spoken of *The Mimi* and *Pantomimes*; the *Mimi*, which had some relation to comedy. This appellation was, by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, given to certain dramatic performances, and to the actors that played them. The denomination sufficiently shews, that their art consisted in imitation and buffoonery. Of their works, nothing, or very little, is remaining; so that they can only be considered by the help of some passages in authors: from which little is to be learned that deserves consideration. I shall extract the substance, as I did with respect to the chorus, without losing time, by defining all the different species, or producing all the quotations which would give the reader more trouble than instruction. He that desires fuller

instructions may read *Vossius*, *Valois*, *Saumaises*, and *Gat-aker*, of whose compilations, however learned, I should think it shame to be the author.

The *Mimi* had their original from comedy, of which at its first appearance they made a part; for their mimic actors always played and exhibited grotesque dances in the comedies. The jealousy of rivalry afterwards broke them off from the comic actors, and made them a company by themselves. But to secure their reception, they borrowed from comedy all its drollery, wildness, grossness, and licentiousness. This amusement they added to their dances, and they produced what are now called farces, or burlettos. These farces had not the regularity or delicacy of comedies; they were only a succession of single scenes contrived to raise laughter; formed or unravelled without order and without connexion. They had no other end but to make the people laugh. Now and then there might be good sentences, like the sentences of *P. Syrus*; that are yet left us: but the groundwork was low comedy; and any thing of greater dignity drops in by chance. We must however imagine, that this odd species of the drama rose at length to somewhat a higher character, since we are told that *Plato* the philosopher laid the *Mimi* of *Sophon* under his pillow, and they were found there after his death. But in general we may say with truth, that it always discovered the meanness of its original, like a false pretension to nobility, in which the cheat is always discovered through the concealment of fictitious splendor.

These *Mimi* were of two sorts, of which the length was different, but the purposes the same. The *Mimi* of

of one species were short; those of the other long, and not quite so grotesque. These two kinds were subdivided into many species, distinguished by the dresses and characters, such as shews, drunkards, physicians, men, and women.

Thus far of the *Greeks*. The *Romans* having borrowed of them the more noble shews of tragedy and comedy, were not content till they had their rhapsodies. They had their *planipedes*, who played with flat soles, that they might have the more agility; and their *Sannions*, whose head was shaved, that they might box the better. There is no need of naming here all who had a name for these diversions among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. I have said enough, and perhaps too much of this abortion of comedy, which drew upon itself the contempt of good men, the censures of the magistrates, and the indignation of the fathers of the church *.

Another set of players were called *Pantomimes*: these were at least so far preferable to the former, that they gave no offence to the ears. They spoke only to the eyes; but with such art of expression, that without the utterance of a single word, they represented, as we are told, a complete tragedy or comedy, in the same manner as dumb *Harlequin* is exhibited on our theatres. These *Pantomimes* among the *Greeks* first mingled singing with their dances; afterwards, about the time of

* It is the licentiousness of the *Mimi* and *Pantomimes*, against which the censure of the Holy Fathers particularly breaks out, as against a thing irregular and indecent, without supposing it much connected with the cause of religion.

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Livius Andronicas, the songs were performed by one part, and the dances by another. Afterwards, in the time of *Augustus*, when they were sent for to *Rome*, for the diversions of the people, whom he had enslaved, they played comedies without songs or vocal utterance; but by the sprightliness, activity, and efficacy of their gestures; or, as *Sidonius Apollinaris* expresses it, *clausis faucibus, et loquente gestu*, they not only exhibited things and passions, but even the most delicate distinctions of passions, and the slightest circumstances of facts. We must not however imagine, at least in my opinion, that the *Pantomimes* did literally represent regular tragedies or comedies by the mere motions of their bodies. We may justly determine, notwithstanding all their agility, their representations would at last be very incomplete: yet we may suppose, with good reason, that their action was very lively; and that the art of imitation went great lengths, since it raised the admiration of the wisest men, and made the people mad with eagerness. Yet when we read that one *Hylus*, the pupil of one *Pylades*, in the time of *Augustus*, divided the applauses of the people with his master, when they represented *Oedipus*, or when *Juvenal* tells us, that *Bathillus* played *Leda*, and other things, of the same kind, it is not easy to believe that a single man, without speaking a word, could exhibit tragedies or comedies, and make starts and bounds supply the place of vocal articulation. Notwithstanding the obscurity of this whole matter, one may know what to admit as certain, or how far a representation could be carried by dance, posture, and grimace. Among these

these artificial dances, of which we know nothing but the names, there was as early as the times of *Aristophanes* some extremely indecent. These were continued in *Italy* from the time of *Augustus*, long after the emperors. It was a public mischief, which contributed in some measure to the decay and ruin of the *Roman* empire. To have a due detestation of these licentious entertainments, there is no need of any recourse to the fathers; the wiser *Pagans* tell us very plainly what they thought of them. I have made this mention of the *Mimi* and *Pantomimes*, only to shew how the most noble of public spectacles were corrupted and abused, and to conduct the reader to the end through every road, and through all the bye-paths of human wit, from *Homer* and *Eschylus* to our own time.

VII. That we may conclude this work by applying the principles laid down at the beginning, and extend it through the whole, I desire the reader to recur to that point where I have represented the human mind as beginning the course of the drama. The chorus was first a hymn to *Bacchus*, produced by accident; art brought it to perfection, and delight made it a public diversion. *Thespis* made a single actor play before the people; this was the beginning of theatrical shews. *Eschylus*, taking the idea of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, animated, if I may so express it, the epic poem, and gave a dialogue in place of simple recitation, puts the whole into action, and sets it before the eyes, as if it was a present and real transaction: he gives the cho-

Wanderings of the human mind in the birth and progress of theatrical representations.

rus * an interest in the scenes, contrives habits of dignity and theatrical decorations. In a word, he gives both to tragedy; or, more properly, draws it from the bosom of the epic poem. She made her appearance sparkling with graces, and displayed such majesty as gained every heart at the first view. *Sophocles* considers her more nearly, with the eyes of a critic, and finds that she has something still about her rough and swelling: he divests her of her false ornaments, teaches her a more regular walk, and more familiar dignity. *Euripides* was of opinion, that she ought to receive still more softness and tenderness; he teaches her the new art of pleasing by simplicity, and gives her the charms of graceful negligence; so that he makes her stand in suspense, whether she appears most to advantage in the dress of *Sophocles* sparkling with gems, or in that of *Euripides*, which is more simple and modest. Both indeed are elegant; but the elegance is of different kinds, between which no judgment as yet has decided the prize of superiority.

We can now trace it no farther; its progress amongst the *Greeks* is out of sight. We must pass at once to the time of *Augustus*, where *Apollo* and the *Muses* quitted their ancient residence in *Greece*, to fix their abode in *Italy*. But it is vain to ask questions of *Meletemone*; she is obstinately silent, and we only know from strangers her power amongst the *Romans*. *Seneca* endeavours to

* *Eschylus*, in my opinion, as well as the other poets his contemporaries, retained the chorus, not merely because it was the fashion, but because examining tragedy to the bottom, they found it not rational to conceive, that an action great and splendid, like the revolution of a state, could pass without witnesses.

make her speak ; but the gaudy shew with which he rather loads than adorns her, makes us think that he took some phantom of *Melpomene* for the Muse herself.

Another flight, equally rapid with that to *Rome*, must carry us through thousands of years, from *Rome* to *France*. There in the time of *Lewis XIV.* we see the mind of man giving birth to tragedy a second time, as if the *Greek* tragedy had been utterly forgot. In the place of *Eschylus*, we have our *Rotrou*. In *Corneille*, we have another *Sophocles*, and in *Racine* a second *Euripides*. Thus is tragedy raised from her ashes, carried to the utmost point of greatness, and so dazzling that she prefers herself to herself. Surprised to see herself produced again in *France* in so short a time, and nearly in the same manner as before in *Greece*, she is disposed to believe that her fate is to make a short transition from her birth to her perfection, like the goddess that issued from the brain of *Jupiter*.

If we look back on the other side to the rise of comedy, we shall see it hatched by *Margites* from the *Odyssey* of *Homer*, in imitation of her eldest sister ; but we see her under the conduct of *Aristophanes* become licentious and petulant, taking airs to herself which the magistrates were obliged to crush. *Menander* reduced her to bounds, taught her at once gaiety and politeness, and enabled her to correct vice, without shocking the offenders. *Plautus*, among the *Romans*, to whom we must now pass, united the earlier and the later comedy, and joined buffoonery with delicacy. *Terence*, who was better instructed, received comedy from *Menander*, and surpassed his original, as he endeavoured to copy it. And lastly, *Moliere* produced a new species of comedy,

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which must be placed in a class by itself, in opposition to that of *Aristophanes*, whose manner is likewise peculiar to himself.

But such is the weakness of the human mind, that when we review the successions of the drama a third time, we find genius falling from its height, forgetting itself, and led astray by the love of novelty, and the desire of striking out new paths. Tragedy degenerated in *Greece* from the time of *Aristotle*, and in *Rome* after *Augustus*. At *Rome* and *Athens* comedy produced *Mimi*, pantomimes, burlettas, tricks, and farces, for the sake of variety; such is the character, and such the madness of the mind of man. It is satisfied with having made great conquests, and gives them up to attempt others, which are far from answering its expectation, and only enables it to discover its own folly, weakness, and deviations. But why should we be tired with standing still at the true point of perfection, when it is attained? If eloquence be wearied, and forgets herself a while, yet she soon returns to her former point: so will it happen to our theatres if the *French* Muses will keep the *Græc* models in their view, and not look with disdain upon a stage whose mother is nature, whose soul is passion, and whose art is simplicity: a stage, which, to speak the truth, does not perhaps equal ours in splendor and elevation, but which excels it in simplicity and propriety, and equals it at least in the conduct and direction of those passions which may properly affect an honest man and a christian.

For my part, I shall think myself well recompensed for my labour, and shall attain the end which I had in view, if I shall in some little measure revive in the minds
of

of those who purpose to run the round of polite literature, not an immoderate and blind reverence, but a true taste of antiquity: such a taste as both feeds and polishes the mind, and enriches it by enabling it to appropriate the wealth of foreigners, and to exert its natural fertility in exquisite productions; such a taste as gave the *Racines*, the *Molieres*, the *Boileaus*, the *Fontaines*, the *Patrus*, the *Peleffons*, and many other great geniuses of the last age, all that they were, and all that they will always be; such a taste as puts the seal of immortality to those works in which it is discovered; a taste so necessary, that without it we may be certain that the greatest powers of nature will long continue in a state below themselves; for no man ought to allow himself to be flattered or seduced by the example of some men of genius, who have rather appeared to despise this taste than to, despise it in reality. It is true that excellent originals have given occasion, without any fault of their own, to very bad copies. No man ought severely to ape either the ancients or the moderns: but if it was necessary to run into an extreme of one side or the other, which is never done by a judicious and well-directed mind, it would be better for a wit, as for a painter, to enrich himself by what he can take from the ancients, than to grow poor by taking all from his own stock; or openly to affect an imitation of those moderns whose more fertile genius has produced beauties peculiar to themselves, and which themselves only can display with grace: beauties of that peculiar kind, that they are not fit to be imitated by others; though in those who first invented them they may be justly esteemed, and in them only.

A C C O U N T

OF A

B O O K,

ENTITLED,

An historical and critical Enquiry into the Evidence produced by the Earls of MORAY and MORTON, against MARY Queen of Scots*, With an Examination of the Rev. Dr. ROBERTSON's Dissertation, and Mr. HUME's History, with respect to that Evidence†.

WE live in an age in which there is much talk of independence, of private judgment, of liberty of thought, and liberty of press. Our clamorous praises of liberty sufficiently prove that we enjoy it; and if by liberty nothing else be meant, than security from the persecutions of power, it is so fully possessed by us, that little more is to be desired, except that one should talk of it less, and use it better.

But a social being can scarcely rise to complete independence; he that has any wants, which others can

* Written by Mr. Tytler, of Edinburgh. E.

† Printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, October 1760. E.

supply.

supply, must study the gratification of them whose assistance he expects; this is equally true, whether his wants be wants of nature or of vanity. The writers of the present time are not always candidates for preferment, nor often the hirelings of a patron. They profess to serve no interest, and speak with loud contempt of sycophants and slaves.

There is, however, a power, from whose influence neither they nor their predecessors have ever been free. Those who have set greatness at defiance, have yet been the slaves of fashion. When an opinion has once become popular, very few are willing to oppose it. Idleness is more willing to credit than enquire; cowardice is afraid of controversy, and vanity of answer; and he that writes merely for sale, is tempted to court purchasers by flattering the prejudices of the public.

It has now been fashionable for near half a century, to defame and vilify the house of *Stuart*, and to exalt and magnify the reign of *Elizabeth*. The *Stuarts* have found few apologists, for the dead cannot pay for praise; and who will, without reward, oppose the tide of popularity? Yet there remains still among us, not wholly extinguished, a zeal for truth, a desire of establishing right, in opposition to fashion. The author, whose work is now before us, has attempted a vindication of *Mary of Scotland*, whose name has for some years been generally resigned to infamy, and who has been considered as the murderer of her husband, and condemned by her own letters.

Of these letters, the author of this vindication confesses the importance to be such, that if they be genuine, the queen

queen was guilty; and if they be spurious, she was innocent. He has, therefore, undertaken to prove them spurious, and divided his treatise into six parts.

In the *first* is contained the history of the letters, from their discovery by the earl of *Morton*, their being produced against *Q. Mary*, and their several appearances in *England* before *Q. Elizabeth* and her commissioners, until they were finally delivered back again to the earl of *Morton*.

The *second* contains a short abstract of Mr. *Goodall's* arguments for proving the letters to be spurious and forged; and of Dr. *Robertson* and Mr. *Hume's* objections by way of answer to Mr. *Goodall*, with critical observations on these authors.

The *third* contains an examination of the arguments of Dr. *Robertson* and Mr. *Hume*, in support of the authenticity of the letters.

The *fourth* contains an examination of the confession of *Nicholas Hubert*, commonly called *French Paris*, with observations shewing the same to be a forgery.

The *fifth* contains a short recapitulation or summary of the arguments on both sides of the question. And,

The *last* is an historical collection of the direct or positive evidence still on record, tending to shew what part the earls of *Murray*, and *Morton*, and secretary *Letbington*, had in the murder of the lord *Darnley*.

The author apologises for the length of this book, by observing, that it necessarily comprises a great number of particulars, which could not easily be contracted: the same plea may be made for the imperfection of our extract, which will naturally fall below the force of the book,

book, because we can only select parts of that evidence, which owes its strength to its concatenation, and which will be weakened whenever it is disjoined.

The account of the seizure of these controverted letters is thus given by the queen's enemies.

"That in the castell of *Edinburgh* thair was left be
"the Erle of *Bothwell*, before his fleeing away, and was
"send for be ane *George Dalglish*, his servand, who was
"taken be the Erle of *Mortoun*, ane small gylt coffer,
"not fully ane fute lang, garnisht in findrie places, with
"the *Roman* letter F. under ane king's crowne; wharin
"were certane letteris and writings weel knawin, and
"be aithis to be affirmit to have been written with the
"Quene of *Scottis* awn hand to the Erle."

The papers in the box were said to be eight letters in *French*, some love sonnets in *French* also, and a promise of marriage by the Queen to *Bothwell*.

To the reality of these letters our author makes some considerable objections, from the nature of things; but as such arguments do not always convince, we will pass to the evidence of facts.

On *June 15, 1567*, the queen delivered herself to *Morton*, and his party, who imprisoned her.

June 20, 1567, *Dalglish* was seized, and six days after was examined by *Morton*; his examination is still extant, and there is no mention of this fatal box.

Dec. 4, 1567, *Murray's* secret council published an act, in which is the first mention of these letters, and in which they are said to be *written and subscrivit with her awn hand*. Ten days after *Murray's* first parliament met, and passed an act, in which they mention *previe letters*.

letters written balelie [wholly] *with her awin band*. The difference between *written* and *subscribed*, and *wholly written*, gives the author just reason to suspect, first, a forgery, and then a variation of the forgery. It is indeed very remarkable, that the first account asserts more than the second, though the second contains all the truth; for the letters, whether *written* by the queen or not, were not *subscribed*. Had the second account differed from the first only by something added, the first might have contained truth, though not all the truth; but as the second corrects the first by diminution, the first cannot be cleared from falshood.

In *October* 1568, these letters were shewn at *York* to *Elizabeth's* commissioners, by the agents of *Murray*, but not in their public character as commissioners, but by way of private information, and were not therefore exposed to *Mary's* commissioners. *Mary*, however, hearing that some letters were intended to be produced against her, directed her commissioners to require them for her inspection, and, in the mean time, to declare them *false and feigned, forged and invented*, observing that there were many that could counterfeit her hand.

To counterfeit a name is easy, to counterfeit a hand through eight letters very difficult. But it does not appear that the letters were ever shewn to those who would desire to detect them; and to the *English* commissioners a rude and remote imitation might be sufficient, since they were not shewn as judicial proofs; and why they were not shewn as proofs, no other reason can be given than they must have then been examined, and that examination would have detected the forgery.

These

These letters, thus timorously and suspiciously communicated, were all the evidence against *Mary*; for the servants of *Bothwell*, executed for the murder of the king, acquitted the queen at the hour of death. These letters were so necessary to *Murray*, that he alledges them as the reason of the queen's imprisonment, though he imprisoned her on the 16th, and pretended not to have intercepted the letters before the 20th of *June*.

Of these letters, on which the fate of princes and kingdoms was suspended, the authority should have been put out of doubt; yet that such letters were ever found, there is no witness but *Morton*, who accused the queen, and *Crawford*, a dependent on *Lennox*, another of her accusers. *Dalglish*, the bearer, was hanged without any interrogatories concerning them; and *Hulet*, mentioned in them, though then in prison, was never called to authenticate them, nor was his confession produced against *Mary* till death had left him no power to disown it.

Elizabeth, indeed, was easily satisfied; she declared herself ready to receive the proofs against *Mary*, and absolutely refused *Mary* the liberty of confronting her accusers, and making her defence. Before such a judge, a very little proof would be sufficient. She gave the accusers of *Mary* leave to go to *Scotland*, and the box and letters were seen no more. They have been since lost, and the discovery, which comparison of writing might have made, is now no longer possible. *Hume* has, however, endeavoured to palliate the conduct of *Elizabeth*, but his account, says our author, is contradicted almost in every sentence by the records, which, it appears, he has himself perused.

In

In the next part, the authenticity of the letters is examined; and it seems to be proved beyond contradiction, that the *French* letters, supposed to have been written by *Mary*, are translated from the *Scotch* copy, and, if originals, which it was so much the interest of such numbers to preserve, are wanting, it is much more likely that they never existed, than that they have been lost.

The arguments used by *Dr. Robertson*, to prove the genuineness of the letters, are next examined. *Robertson* makes use principally of what he calls the *internal evidence*, which, amounting at most to conjecture, is opposed by conjecture equally probable.

In examining the confession of *Nicholas Hubert*, or *French Paris*, this new apologist of *Mary* seems to gain ground upon her accuser. *Paris* is mentioned in the letters, as the bearer of them to *Botbwell*; when the rest of *Botbwell's* servants were executed, clearing the queen in the last moment, *Paris*, instead of suffering his trial with the rest at *Edinburgh*, was conveyed to *St. Andrews*, where *Murray* was absolute, put into a dungeon of *Murray's* citadel, and two years after condemned by *Murray* himself nobody knew how. Several months after his death, a confession in his name, without the regular testifications, was sent to *Cecil*, at what exact time nobody can tell.

Of this confession, *Lesly*, bishop of *Ross*, openly denied the genuineness, in a book printed at *London*, and suppressed by *Elizabeth*; and another historian of that time declares, that *Paris* died without any confession; and the confession itself was never shewn to *Mary*, or to *Mary's*

Mary's commissioners. The author makes this reflection :

“ From the violent presumptions that arise from their carrying this poor ignorant stranger from *Edinburgh*, the ordinary seat of justice ; their keeping him hid from all the world, in a remote dungeon, and not producing him with their other evidences, so as he might have been publicly questioned ; the positive and direct testimony of the author of *Crawford's* manuscript, then living, and on the spot at the time ; with the public affirmation of the bishop of *Ross* at the time of *Paris's* death, that he had vindicated the queen with his dying breath ; the behaviour of *Murray*, *Morton*, *Buchanan*, and even of *Hay*, the attester of this pretended confession, on that occasion ; their close and reserved silence at the time when they must have had this confession of *Paris* in their pocket ; and their publishing every other circumstance that could tend to blacken the queen, and yet omitting this confession, the only direct evidence of her supposed guilt ; all this duly and dispassionately considered, I think, one may safely conclude, that it was judged not fit to expose so soon to light this piece of evidence against the queen ; which a cloud of witnesses, living, and present at *Paris's* execution, would surely have given clear testimony against, as a notorious imposture.”

Mr. *Hume*, indeed, observes, “ It is in vain at present to seek for improbabilities in *Nicholas Hubert's* dying confession, and to magnify the smallest difficulties into a contradiction. It was certainly a *regular judicial* paper, given in regularly and judicially, and ought to have been canvassed at the time, if the persons, whom it con-

cerned, had been assured of their innocence."—To which our author makes a reply, which cannot be shortened without weakening it :

" Upon what does this author ground his sentence? Upon two very plain reasons, *first*, That the confession was a judicial one, that is, taken in presence, or by authority of a judge. And *secondly*, That it was regularly and judicially given in ; that must be understood during the time of the conferences before queen *Elizabeth* and her council, in presence of *Mary's* commissioners ; at which time she ought to have canvassed it, says our author, if she knew her innocence.

That it was not a judicial confession, is evident: the paper itself does not bear any such mark ; nor does it mention that it was taken in presence of any person, or by any authority whatsoever ; and, by comparing it with the judicial examinations of *Dalglish*, *Hay*, and *Hepburn*, it is apparent, that it is destitute of every formality requisite in a judicial evidence. In what dark corner, then, this strange production was generated, our author may endeavour to find out, if he can.

As to his second assertion, that it was regularly and judicially given in, and therefore ought to have been canvassed by *Mary* during the conferences, we have already seen that this likewise is not fact : the conferences broke up in *February* 1569: *Nicholas Hubert* was not hanged till *August* thereafter, and his dying confession, as Mr. *Hume* calls it, is only dated the 10th of that month. How then can this gentleman gravely tell us, that this confession was judicially given in, and ought to have been at that very time canvassed by queen *Mary* and

and her commissioners? Such positive assertions, apparently contrary to fact, are unworthy the character of an historian, and may very justly render his decision, with respect to evidences of a higher nature, very dubious. In answer then to Mr. *Hume*: As the queen's accusers did not chuse to produce this material witness, *Paris*, whom they had alive, and in their hands, nor any declaration or confession from him at the critical and proper time for having it canvassed by the queen, I apprehend our author's conclusion may fairly be used against himself; that it is in vain at present to support the improbabilities and absurdities in a confession, taken in a clandestine way, no body knows how; and produced after *Paris's* death, by no body knows whom; and from every appearance destitute of every formality requisite and common to such sort of evidence: for these reasons, I am under no sort of hesitation to give sentence against *Nicholas Hubert's* confession, as a gross imposture and forgery."

The state of the evidence relating to the letters is this:

Morton affirms that they were taken in the hands of *Dalgleish*. The examination of *Dalgleish* is still extant, and he appears never to have been once interrogated concerning the letters.

Morton and *Murray* affirm that they were written by the queen's hand; they were carefully concealed from *Mary* and her commissioners, and were never collated by one man, who could desire to disprove them.

Several of the incidents mentioned in the letters are confirmed by the oath of *Crawford*, one of *Lennox's* defendants,

defendants, and some of the incidents are so minute, as that they could scarcely be thought on by a forger. *Crawford's* testimony is not without suspicion. Whoever practices forgery, endeavours to make truth the vehicle of falsehood. Of a prince's life very minute incidents are known; and if any are too slight to be remarked, they may be safely feigned, for they are likewise too slight to be contradicted. But there are still more reasons for doubting the genuineness of these letters. They had no date of time or place, no seal, no direction, no superscription.

*Forged by
R. the Duke* The only evidences that could prove their authenticity were *Dalgleish* and *Paris*, of which *Dalgleish*, at his trial, was never questioned about them; *Paris* was never publicly tried, though he was kept alive through the time of the conference.

The servants of *Bothwell*, who were put to death for the king's murder, cleared *Mary* with their last words.

The letters were first declared to be subscribed, and were then produced without subscription.

They were shewn during the conferences at *York* privately to the *English* commissioners, but were concealed from the commissioners of *Mary*.

Mary always solicited the perusal of these letters, and was always denied it.

She demanded to be heard in person by *Elizabeth*, before the nobles of *England*, and the ambassadors of other princes; and was refused.

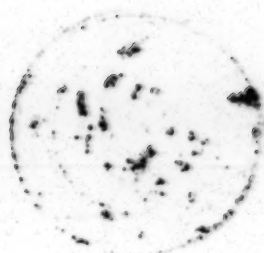
When *Mary* persisted in demanding copies of the letters, her commissioners were dismissed with their box to *Scotland*, and the letters were seen no more.

The

The *French* letters, which for almost two centuries have been considered as originals, by the enemies of *Mary's* memory, are now discovered to be forgeries, and acknowledged to be translations, and perhaps *French* translations of a *Latin* translation. And the modern accusers of *Mary* are forced to infer from these letters, which now exist, that other letters existed formerly, which have been lost in spite of curiosity, malice, and interest.

The rest of this treatise is employed in an endeavour to prove, that *Mary's* accusers were the murderers of *Darnley*; through this enquiry it is not necessary to follow him, only let it be observed, that, if these letters were forged by them, they may easily be thought capable of other crimes. That the letters were forged, is now made so probable, that perhaps they will never more be cited as testimonies.

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T H O U G H T S
ON THE
C O R O N A T I O N

Of his present M A J E S T Y

KING GEORGE THE THIRD;

O R

**Reasons offered against confining the Proceſſion to the
uſual Track, and pointing out other, more commo-
dious and proper.**

To which are prefixed,

**A Plan of the different Paths recommended, with the Parts
adjacent, and a Sketch of the Proceſſion.**

Moſt humbly ſubmitted to Conſideration.

First printed in the Year M DCC LXI.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

CORONATION, &c.

ALL pomp is instituted for the sake of the public. A shew without spectators can no longer be a shew. Magnificence in obscurity is equally vain with a *sun-dial in the grave*.

As the wisdom of our ancestors has appointed a very splendid and ceremonious inauguration of our kings, their intention was, that they should receive their crown with such awful rites, as might for ever impress upon them a due sense of the duties which they were to take, when the happiness of nations is put into their hands; and that the people, as many as can possibly be witnesses to any single act, should openly acknowledge their sovereign by universal homage.

By the late method of conducting the coronation, all these purposes have been defeated. Our kings, with their train, have crept to the temple through obscure passages; and the crown has been worn out of sight of the people. Of the multitudes, whom loyalty or curiosity brought together, the greater part has returned
with-

without a single glimpse of their prince's grandeur, and the day that opened with festivity ended in discontent.

This evil has proceeded from the narrowness and shortness of the way through which the procession has lately passed. As it is narrow, it admits of very few spectators; as it is short, it is soon passed. The first part of the train reaches the abbey before the whole has left the palace; and the nobility of *England*, in their robes of state, display their riches only to themselves.

All this inconvenience may be easily avoided by chusing a wider and longer course, which may be again enlarged and varied by going one way, and returning another. This is not without a precedent; for, not to enquire into the practice of remoter princes, the procession of *Charles the Second's* Coronation issued from the *Tower*, and passed through the whole length of the city to *Whitehall* *.

The

* The king went early in the morning to the *Tower of London* in his coach, most of the lords being there before. And about ten of the clock they set forward towards *Whitehall*, ranged in that order as the heralds had appointed; those of the long robe, the king's council at law, the masters of the chancery, and judges, going first, and so the lords in their order, very splendidly habited, on rich footcloths; the number of their footmen being limited, to the dukes ten, to the lords eight, and to the viscounts six, and the barons four, all richly clad, as their other servants were. The whole show was the most glorious in the order and expence, that had been ever seen in *England*; they who rode first being in *Fleet-foot* when the king issued out of the *Tower*, as was known by the discharge of the ordnance: and it was near three of the clock in the afternoon, when the king alighted at *Whitehall*. The next morning the king rode in the same state in his robes, and with his crown

The path in the late coronations has been only from *Westminster-hall*, along *New Palace-yard*, into *Union-street*, through the extreme end of *King-street*, and to the *Abbey* door, by the way of *St. Margaret's church-yard*.

The paths which I propose the procession to pass through, are,

I. From *St. James's* palace, along *Pall-Mall* and *Charing-Cross*, by *White-hall*, through *Parliament-street*, down *Bridge-street*, into *King-street*, round *St. Margaret's church-yard*, and from thence into the *Abbey*.

II. From *St. James's* palace a-cross the canal, into the *Bird-cage-walk*, from thence into *Great George-street*, then turning down *Long-ditch*, (the *Gate-house* previously to be taken down) proceed to the *Abbey*. Or,

III. Continuing the course along *George-street*, into *King-street*, and by the way of *St. Margaret's church-yard*, to pass into the west door of the *Abbey*.

crown on his head, and all the lords in their robes, to *Westminster-Hall*; where all the ensigns for the coronation were delivered to those who were appointed to carry them, the earl of *Northumberland* being made high constable, and the earl of *Suffolk* earl marshal, for the day. And then all the lords in their order, and the king himself, walked on foot, upon blue cloth, from *Westminster-Hall* to the *Abbey Church*, where, after a sermon preached by Dr. *Moly*, (then bishop of *Worcester*) in *Henry the Seventh's Chapel*, the king was sworn, crowned and anointed, by Dr. *Juxon*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all the solemnity that in those cases had been used. All which being done, the king returned in the same manner on foot to *Westminster-Hall*, which was adorned with rich hangings and statues; and there the king dined, and the lords on either side at tables provided for them: and all other ceremonies were performed with great order and magnificence.

Life of Lord Clarendon, p. 187.

IV. From *St. James's* palace, the usual way his Majesty passes to the House of Lords, as far as to the parade, when, leaving the horse-guards on the left, proceed along the park, up to *Great George-street*, and pass to the *Abbey* in either of the tracks last mentioned.

V. From *Westminster Hall* into *Parliament-street*, down *Bridge-street*, along *Great George-street*, through *Long Ditch*, (the *Gate-house*, as before observed, to be taken down) and so on to the west door of the *Abbey*.

VI. From *Whitehall* up *Parliament-street*, down *Bridge-street*, into *King-street*, round *St. Margaret's* church-yard, proceed into the *Abbey*.

VII. From the House of Lords along *St. Margaret's-street*, a-cross *New Palace-yard*, into *Parliament-street*, and from thence to the *Abbey* by the way last mentioned.

But if, on no account, the path must be extended to any of the lengths here recommended, I could wish, rather than see the procession confined to the old way, that it should pass,

VIII. From *Westminster-Hall* along *Palace-yard*, into *Parliament-street*, and continued in the last mentioned path, viz. through *Bridge-street*, *King-street*, and round the church-yard, to the west door of the cathedral.

IX. The return from the *Abbey*, in either case, to be as usual, viz. round *St. Margaret's* church-yard, into *King-street*, through *Union-street*, along *New Palace-yard*, and so into *Westminster-hall*.

It is almost indifferent which of the six first ways now proposed be taken; but there is a stronger reason than mere convenience for changing the common course. Some of the streets in the old track are so ruinous, that there

there is danger lest the houses, loaded as they will be with people, all pressing forward in the same direction, should fall down upon the procession. The least evil that can be expected is, that in so close a crowd, some will be trampled upon, and others smothered; and surely a pomp that costs a single life is too dearly bought. The new streets, as they are more extensive, will afford place to greater numbers, with less danger.

In this proposal I do not foresee any objection that can reasonably be made. That a longer march will require more time, is not to be mentioned, as implying any defect in a scheme of which the whole purpose is to lengthen the march and protract the time. The longest course which I have proposed is not equal to an hour's walk in the *Park*. The labour is not such, as that the king should refuse it to his people, or the nobility grudge it to the king. Queen *Anne* went from the palace through the *Park* to the *Hall*, on the day of her coronation; and when old and infirm, used to pass on solemn thanksgivings from the palace to *St. Paul's* church *.

Part

* In order to convey to the reader some idea how highly parade and magnificence were estimated by our ancestors, on these solemn occasions, I shall take notice of the manner of conducting lady *Anne Boleyn* from *Greenwich*, previous to her coronation, as it is recited by *Stow*.

King *Henry VIII.* (says that historian) having divorced queen *Catherine*, and married *Anne Boleyn*, or *Bolaine*, who was descended from *Godfrey Bolaine*, Mayor of the city of *London*, and intending her coronation, sent to order the Lord Mayor, not only to make all the preparations necessary for conducting his royal consort from *Greenwich*, by water, to the *Tower of London*, but to adorn the city

after

Part of my scheme supposes the demolition of the *Gate-house*, a building so offensive, that, without any occasional reason, it ought to be pulled down, for it disgraces the present magnificence of the capital, and is a continual nuisance to neighbours and passengers.

A longer

shall be the most magnificent manner, for her passage through it to *Westminster*.

In obedience to the royal precept, the mayor and common-council not only ordered the company of *Haberdashers*, of which the lord mayor was a member, to prepare a magnificent state barge; but enjoined all the city corporations to provide themselves with barges, and to adorn them in the most superb manner, and especially to have them supplied with good bands of music.

On the 29th of *May*, the time prefixed for this pompous procession by water, the mayor, aldermen, and commons, assembled at *St. Mary-bill*; the mayor and aldermen in scarlet, with gold chains, and those who were knights, with the collars of SS. At one they went on board the city barge at *Billingsgate*, which was most magnificently decorated, and attended by fifty noble barges, belonging to the several companies of the city, with each its own corporation on board; and, for the better regulation of this procession, it was ordered, that each barge should keep twice their lengths asunder.

Thus regulated, the city barge was preceded by another mounted with ordnance, and the figures of dragons, and other monsters, incessantly emitting fire and smoke, with much noise. Then the city barge, attended on the right by the *Haberdashers* state barge, called the *Bachelors*, which was covered with gold brocade, and adorned with sails of silk, with two rich standards of the king's and queen's arms at her head and stern, besides a variety of flags and streamers, containing the arms of that company, and those of the merchant adventurers; besides which, the shrouds and ratlines were hung with a number of small bells: on the left was a barge that contained a very beautiful mount, on which stood a white falcon crowned, perched upon a golden stump enriched with roses, being

A longer course of scaffolding is doubtless more expensive than a shorter ; but it is hoped that the time is now past, when any design was received or rejected according to the money that it would cost. Magnificence cannot be cheap, for what is cheap cannot be magnificent.

being the queen's emblem ; and round the mount sat several beautiful virgins, singing, and playing upon instruments. The other barges followed in regular order, till they came below *Greenwich*. On their return the procession began with that barge which was before the last, in which were mayor's and sheriff's officers, and this was followed by those of the inferior companies, ascending to the lord mayor's, which immediately preceded that of the queen, who was attended by the *Bachelors* or state barge, with the magnificence of which her majesty was much delighted ; and being arrived at the *Tower*, she returned the lord mayor and aldermen thanks, for the pomp with which she had been conducted thither.

Two days after, the lord mayor, in a gown of crimson velvet, and a rich collar of SS, attended by the sheriffs, and two domestics in red and white damask, went to receive the queen at the *Tower of London*, whence the sheriffs returned to see that every thing was in order. The streets were just before new gravelled from the *Tower* to *Temple-Bar*, and railed in on each side, to the intent that the horses should not slide on the pavement, nor the people be hurt by the horses ; within the rails near *Grace-church*, stood a body of *Anseatic* merchants, and next to them the several corporations of the city, in their formalities, reaching to the aldermens station at the upper end of *Cheapside*. On the opposite side were placed the city constables dressed in silk and velvet, with staves in their hands, to prevent the breaking in of the mob, or any other disturbance. On this occasion, *Gracechurch-street* and *Cornhill* were hung with crimson and scarlet cloth, and the sides of the houses of a place then called *Goldsmiths-row*, in *Cheapside*, were adorned with gold brocades, velvet, and rich tapestry.

ficent. The money that is so spent, is spent at home, and the king will receive again what he lays out on the pleasure of his people. Nor is it to be omitted, that if the cost be considered as expended by the public, much

The procession began from the *Tower* with twelve of the *French* ambassador's domestics in blue velvet, the trappings of their horses being blue sarsnet, interspersed with white crosses; after whom marched those of the equestrian order, two and two, followed by judges in their robes, two and two; then came the knights of the Bath in violet gowns, purfled with menever. Next came the abbots, barons, bishops, earls and marquises, in their robes, two and two. Then the lord chancellor, followed by the *Venetian* ambassador and the archbishop of *York*: next the *French* ambassador and the archbishop of *Canterbury*, followed by two gentlemen representing the dukes of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*; after whom rode the lord mayor of *London* with his mace, and Garter in his coat of arms; then the duke of *Suffolk*, lord high steward, followed by the deputy marshal of *England*, and all the other officers of state in their robes, carrying the symbols of their several offices: then others of the nobility in crimson velvet, and all the queen's officers in scarlet, followed by her chancellor uncovered, who immediately preceded his mistress.

The queen was dressed in silver brocade, with a mantle of the same furled with ermine; her hair was dishevelled, and she wore a chaplet upon her head set with jewels of inestimable value. She sat in a litter covered with silver tissue, and carried by two beautiful pads cloathed in white damask, and led by her footmen. Over the litter was carried a canopy of cloth of gold, with a silver bell at each corner, supported by sixteen knights alternately, by four at a time.

After her majesty came her chamberlain, followed by her master of horse, leading a beautiful pad, with a side-saddle and trappings of silver tissue. Next came seven ladies in crimson velvet, faced with gold brocade, mounted on beautiful horses with gold trappings.

Then

much more will be saved than lost; for the excessive prices at which windows and tops of houses are now let, will be abated, not only greater numbers will be admitted to the shew, but each will come at a cheaper rate.

Some

Then followed two chariots covered with cloth of gold, in the first of which were the duchess of *Norfolk* and the marchioness of *Dorset*, and in the second four ladies in crimson velvet; then followed seven ladies dressed in the same manner, on horseback, with magnificent trappings, followed by another chariot all in white, with six ladies in crimson velvet; this was followed by another all in red, with eight ladies in the same dress with the former: next came thirty gentlewomen, attendants to the ladies of honour; they were on horseback, dressed in silks and velvet; and the cavalcade was closed by the horse guards.

This pompous procession being arrived in *Fenchurch-street*, the queen stopped at a beautiful pageant, crowded with children in mercantile habits; who congratulated her majesty upon the joyful occasion of her happy arrival in the city.

Thence she proceeded to *Gracechurch* corner, where was erected a very magnificent pageant, at the expence of the company of *Asiatic* merchants, in which was represented mount *Parnassus*, with the fountain of *Helicon*, of white marble, out of which arose four springs about four feet high, centering at the top in a small globe, from whence issued plenty of *Rhenish* wine till night. On the mount sat *Apollo*, at his feet was *Calliope*, and beneath were the rest of the *Muses*, surrounding the mount, and playing upon a variety of musical instruments, at whose feet were inscribed several epigrams suited to the occasion, in letters of gold.

Her majesty then proceeded to *Leadenhall*, where stood a pageant, representing a hill encompassed with red and white roses; and above it was a golden stump, upon which a white falcon, descending from above, perched, and was quickly followed by an angel, who put a crown of gold upon his head. A little lower on the hillock sat *St. Anne*, surrounded by her progeny, one of whom made an oration,

Some regulations are necessary, whatever track be chosen. The scaffold ought to be raised at least four feet, with rails high enough to support the standers, and yet so low as not to hinder the view.

It

oration, in which was a wish that her majesty might prove extremely prolific.

The procession then advanced to the conduit in *Cornhill*; where the graces sat enthroned, with a fountain before them, incessantly discharging wine; and underneath, a poet, who described the qualities peculiar to each of these amiable deities, and presented the queen with their several gifts.

The cavalcade thence proceeded to a great conduit that stood opposite to *Mercers-hall* in *Cheapside*, and, upon that occasion, was painted with a variety of emblems, and during the solemnity and remaining part of the day, ran with different sorts of wine, for the entertainment of the populace.

At the end of *Wood-street*, the standard there was finely embellished with royal portraitures and a number of flags, on which were painted coats of arms and trophies, and above was a concert of vocal and instrumental music.

At the upper end of *Cheapside* was the aldermens station, where the recorder addressed the queen in a very elegant oration, and, in the name of the citizens, presented her with a thousand marks in a purse of gold tissue, which her majesty very gracefully received.

At a small distance, by *Cheapside* conduit, was a pageant, in which were seated *Minerva*, *Juno*, and *Venus*; before whom stood the god *Mercury*; who, in their names, presented the queen a golden apple.

At *St. Paul's* gate was a fine pageant, in which sat three ladies richly dressed, with each a chaplet on her head, and a tablet in her hand, containing *Latin* inscriptions.

At the east end of *St. Paul's* cathedral, the queen was entertained by some of the scholars belonging to *St. Paul's* school, with verses in praise of the king and her majesty, with which she seemed highly delighted.

A a

Thence

13 It would add much to the gratification of the people, if the horse-guards, by which all our processions have been of late encumbered, and rendered dangerous to the multitude, were to be left behind at the coronation; and if, contrary to the desires of the people, the procession must pass in the old track, that the number of foot soldiers be diminished; since it cannot but offend every *Englishman* to see troops of soldiers placed between him and his sovereign, as if they were the most honourable of the people, or the king required guards to secure his person from his subjects. As their station makes them think themselves important, their insolence is always such as may be expected from servile authority; and the impatience of the people, under such immediate oppression, always produces quarrels, tumults, and mischief.

Thence proceeding to *Ludgate*, which was finely decorated, her majesty was entertained with several songs adapted to the occasion, sung in concert by men and boys upon the leads over the gate.

At the end of *Shoe-lane*, in *Fleet-street*, a handsome tower with four turrets was erected upon the conduit, in each of which stood one of the cardinal virtues, with their several symbols; who, addressing themselves to the queen, promised they would never leave her, but be always her constant attendants. Within the tower was an excellent concert of music, and the conduit all the while ran with various sorts of wine.

At *Temple-bar* she was again entertained with songs, sung in concert by a choir of men and boys; and having from thence proceeded to *Westminster*, she returned the lord mayor thanks for his good offices, and those of the citizens, that day. The day after, the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, assisted at the coronation, which was performed with great splendor. *Stow's Annals.*

Note, The same historian informs us, that queen *Elizabeth* passed in the like manner, through the city, to her coronation.

P R E F A C E

T O T H E

ARTIST'S CATALOGUE, for 1762.

THE public may justly require to be informed of the nature and extent of every design, for which the favour of the public is openly solicited. The artists, who were themselves the first projectors of an exhibition in this nation, and who have now contributed to the following catalogue, think it therefore necessary to explain their purpose, and justify their conduct. An exhibition of the works of art, being a spectacle new in this kingdom, has raised various opinions and conjectures among those who are unacquainted with the practice in foreign nations. Those who set out their performances to general view, have been too often considered as the rivals of each other, as men actuated, if not by avarice, at least by vanity, and contending for superiority of fame, though not for a pecuniary prize. It cannot be denied or doubted, that all who offer themselves to criticism are desirous of praise; this desire is not only innocent, but virtuous, while it is undebased by artifice, and unpolluted by envy; and of envy or artifice these men can never be accused, who, already enjoying all the honours and profits of their profession, are content to stand candidates for public notice, with genius yet unexperienced, and diligence yet unrewarded; who, without any hope of increasing their own reputation or interest, expose their names and their works only that they may furnish an opportunity of appearance to the young, the diffident, and the neglected. The purpose of this exhibition is not to enrich the artists, but to advance the art; the

eminent are not flattered with preference, nor the obscure insulted with contempt; whoever hopes to deserve public favour, is here invited to display his merit.

Of the price put upon this exhibition some account may be demanded. Whoever sets his work to be shewn, naturally desires a multitude of spectators; but his desire defeats its own end, when spectators assemble in such numbers as to obstruct one another. Though we are far from wishing to diminish the pleasures, or depreciate the sentiments of any class of the community, we know, however, what every one knows, that all cannot be judges or purchasers of works of art; yet we have already found by experience, that all are desirous to see an exhibition. When the terms of admission were low, our room was thronged with such multitudes as made access dangerous, and frightened away those whose approbation was most desired.

Yet, because it is seldom believed that money is got but for the love of money, we shall tell the use which we intend to make of our expected profits.

Many artists of great abilities are unable to sell their works for their due price; to remove this inconvenience, an annual sale will be appointed, to which every man may send his works, and send them if he will without his name. These works will be reviewed by the committee that conduct the exhibition. A price will be secretly set on every piece, and registered by the secretary. If the piece exposed is sold for more, the whole price shall be the artist's; but if the purchaser's value is at less than the committee, the artist shall be paid the deficiency from the profits of the exhibition.

INTRO.

I N T R O D U C T I O N
T O T H E
A P P E N D I X T O S H A K S P E A R E.

Published in 1765.

IN the prosecution of this work, I received many remarks from learned friends, which came sometimes too late for insertion; and some of my own remarks, either more mature reflection, or better information, has disposed me to retract. An appendix, therefore, became necessary, that I might omit nothing which could contribute to the explanation of my authour. I do not always concur with my friends in their opinion; but their abilities are such as make me less confident when I find myself differing from them; and the public might justly complain, if I suppressed their sentiments either by pride or timidity. From the *Revisal of Shakspeare*, lately published, I have selected some just remarks, and from *Dr. Grey* some valuable illustrations. I am far, at last, from supposing my work perfect; but do not think any thing which I am likely to add to it, of value enough to justify longer delay*.

* The preface to Shakspeare, in the last publication of Dr. Johnson's works, having been mutilated by the omission of the following paragraph, in justice to the memory of Dr. Johnson it is here restored from the edition of Shakspeare of the year 1773, where it originally appeared. "Of what has been performed in this
"revisal, an account is given in the following pages by Mr.
"Stevens, who might have spoken both of his own diligence and
"sagacity, in terms of greater self-approbation, without deviating
"from modesty or truth."

ADVERTISEMENT,

PREFIXED TO

MRS. WILLIAMS'S MISCELLANIES.

Printed in 1766.

TO those, by whose favour and encouragement the following collection has appeared, the motives of its publication are already known: and it were superfluous to inform the rest of the world of that about which the world will have no curiosity.

Complaints, however natural, are not pleasing; and I therefore would not mention the misfortunes of my life, but to return my thanks for the kind endeavours to alleviate them, exerted by those who have subscribed, and procured subscriptions, and those who by contributing their compositions, have left my friends less reason to repent their solicitations.

To the few by whom the dilatoriness of my performance has been censured, I shall answer only by reminding them of my utter inability to hasten it by any diligence of my own, and by wishing that they may never learn from experience how slowly that is done, which is done gratuitously.

THE

THE
F O U N T A I N S :
A FAIRY TALE.*

Felix qui potuit boni
Fontem visere lucidum. BORTHIUS.

AS *Floretta* was wandering in a meadow at the foot of Plinlimmon, she heard a little bird cry in such a note as she had never observed before; and looking round her, saw a lovely goldfinch entangled by a lime-twig, and a hawk hovering over him, as at the point of seizing him in his talons.

Floretta longed to rescue the little bird, but was afraid to encounter the hawk, who looked fiercely upon her without any apparent dread of her approach, and as she advanced seemed to increase in bulk, and clapped his wings in token of defiance. *Floretta* stood deliberating a few moments, but seeing her mother at no great distance, took courage, and snatched the twig with the little bird upon it. When she had disengaged him, she put him in her bosom, and the hawk flew away.

Floretta shewing her bird to her mother, told her from what danger she had rescued him; her mother, after admiring his beauty, said, that he would be a very

* Published in Mrs. Williams's Miscellanies.

proper inhabitant of the little gilded cage, which had hung empty since the starling died for want of water, and that he should be placed at the chamber window, for it would be wonderfully pleasant to hear him in the morning.

Floretta, with tears in her eyes, replied, that he had better have been devoured by the hawk than die for want of water, and that she would not save him from a less evil to put him in danger of a greater: she therefore took him into her hand, cleaned his feathers from the bird-lime, looked upon him with great tenderness, and, having put his bill to her lips, dismissed him into the air.

He flew in circles round her as she went home, and perching on a tree before the door, delighted them a while with such sweetness of song, that her mother reproved her for not putting him in the cage. *Floretta* endeavoured to look grave, but silently approved her own act, and wished her mother more generosity. Her mother guessed her thoughts, and told her, that when she was older she would be wiser.

Floretta however did not repent, but hoped to hear her little bird the next morning singing at liberty. She waked early and listened, but no goldfinch could she hear. She rose, and walking again in the same meadow, went to view the bush where she had seen the lime-twig the day before.

When she entered the thicket, and was near the place for which she was looking, from behind a blooming hawthorn advanced a female form of very low stature, but of elegant proportion and majestic air, arrayed in
all

all the colours of the meadow, and sparkling as she moved, like a dew-drop in the sun.

Floretta was too much disordered to speak or fly, and stood motionless between fear and pleasure, when the little lady took her by the hand.

I am, said she, one of that order of beings which some call Fairies, and some Piskies: we have always been known to inhabit the crags and caverns of Plinlimmon. The maids and shepherds, when they wander by moonlight, have often heard our music, and sometimes seen our dances.

I am the chief of the Fairies of this region, and am known among them by the name of Lady *Lilinet*, of the Blue Rock. As I lived always in my own mountain, I had very little knowledge of human manners, and thought better of mankind than other Fairies found them to deserve; I therefore often opposed the mischievous practices of my sisters, without always enquiring whether they were just. I extinguished the light that was kindled to lead a traveller into a marsh, and found afterwards that he was hasting to corrupt a virgin: I dissipated a mist which assumed the form of a town, and was raised to decoy a monopolizer of corn from his way to the next market: I removed a thorn, artfully planted to prick the foot of a churl, that was going to hinder the poor from following his reapers; and defeated so many schemes of obstruction and punishment, that I was cited before the Queen, as one who favoured wickedness, and opposed the execution of fairy justice.

Having never been accustomed to suffer control, and thinking myself disgraced by the necessity of defence, I
so

so much irritated the Queen by my fullness and petulance, that in her anger she transformed me into a goldfinch. *In this form, says she, I doom thee to remain, till some human being shall shew thee kindness without any prospect of interest.*

I flew out of her presence not much dejected; for I did not doubt but every reasonable being must love that which having never offended, could not be hated, and, having no power to hurt, could not be feared.

I therefore fluttered about the villages, and endeavoured to force myself into notice.

Having heard that nature was least corrupted among those who had no acquaintance with elegance and splendor, I employed myself for five years in hopping before the doors of cottages, and often sat singing on the thatched roof; my motions were seldom seen, nor my notes heard, no kindness was ever excited, and all the reward of my officiousness was to be aimed at with a stone when I stood within a throw.

The stones never hurt me, for I had still the power of a Fairy.

I then betook myself to spacious and magnificent habitations, and sung in bowers by the walks or on the banks of fountains.

In these places, where novelty was recommended by satiety, and curiosity excited by leisure, my form and my voice were soon distinguished, and I was known by the name of the pretty goldfinch; the inhabitants would walk out to listen to my music, and at last it was their practice to court my visits by scattering meat in my common haunts.

This

This was repeated till I went about pecking in full security, and expected to regain my original form, when I observed two of my most liberal benefactors silently advancing with a net behind me. I flew off, and fluttering beside them, pricked the leg of each, and left them halting and groaning with the cramp.

I then went to another house, where for two springs and summers I entertained a splendid family with such melody as they had never heard in the woods before. The winter that followed the second summer was remarkably cold, and many little birds perished in the field. I laid myself in the way of one of the ladies as benumbed with cold and faint with hunger; she picked me up with great joy, telling her companions that she had found the goldfinch that sung so finely all summer in the myrtle hedge, that she would lay him where he should die, for she could not bear to kill him, and would then pick his fine feathers very carefully, and stick them in her muff.

Finding that her fondness and her gratitude could give way to so slight an interest, I chilled her fingers that she could not hold me, then flew at her face, and with my beak gave her nose four pecks that left four black spots indelible behind them, and broke a match by which she would have obtained the finest equipage in the county.

At length the Queen repented of her sentence, and being unable to revoke it, assisted me to try experiments upon man, to excite his tenderness, and attract his regard.

We

22 We made many attempts, in which we were always disappointed. At last she placed me in your way, held by a lime-twigg, and herself in the shape of a hawk made the shew of devouring me. You, my dear, have rescued me from the seeming danger, without desiring to detain me in captivity, or seeking any other recompence than the pleasure of benefiting a feeling creature.

The Queen is so much pleased with your kindness, that I am come, by her permission, to reward you with a greater favour than ever Fairy bestowed before.

The former gifts of Fairies, though bounties in design, have proved commonly mischiefs in the event. We have granted mortals to wish according to their own discretion; and their discretion being small, and their wishes irreversibile, they have rashly petitioned for their own destruction. But you, my dearest *Floretta*, shall have, what none have ever before obtained from us, the power of indulging your wish, and the liberty of retracting it. Be bold and follow me.

Floretta was easily persuaded to accompany the Fairy, who led her through a labyrinth of craggs and shrubs, to a cavern covered by a thicket on the side of the mountain.

This cavern, said she, is the court of *Lilinet* your friend; in this place you shall find a certain remedy for all real evils. *Lilinet* then went before her through a long subterraneous passage, where she saw many beautiful Fairies, who came to gaze at the stranger, but who, from reverence to their mistress, gave her no disturbance. She heard from remote corners of the gloomy cavern the roar of winds and the fall of waters, and more than
once

once entreated to return ; but *Lilinet* assuring her that she was safe, persuaded her to proceed till they came to an arch, into which the light found its way through a fissure of the rock.

There *Lilinet* seated herself and her guest upon a bench of agate, and pointing to two fountains that bubbled before them, said, now attend, my dear *Floretta*, and enjoy the gratitude of a fairy. Observe the two fountains that spring up in the middle of the vault, one into a basin of alabaster, and the other into a basin of dark flint. The one is called the spring of joy, the other of sorrow ; they rise from distant veins in the rock, and burst out in two places, but after a short course unite their streams, and run ever after in one mingled current.

By drinking of these fountains, which, though shut up from all other human beings, shall be always accessible to you, it will be in your power to regulate your future life.

When you are drinking the water of joy from the alabaster fountain, you may form your wish, and it shall be granted. As you raise your wish higher, the water will be sweeter and sweeter to the taste ; but beware that you are not tempted by its increasing sweetness to repeat your draughts, for the ill effects of your wish can only be removed by drinking the spring of sorrow from the basin of flint, which will be bitter in the same proportion as the water of joy was sweet. Now, my *Floretta*, make the experiment, and give me the first proof of moderate desires. Take the golden cup that stands on the margin of the spring of joy, form your wish and drink.

Floretta

90

Floretta wanted no time to deliberate on the subject of her wish; her first desire was the increase of her beauty. She had some disproportion of features. She took the cup and wished to be agreeable; the water was sweet, and she drank copiously; and in the fountain, which was clearer than crystal, she saw that her face was completely regular.

She then filled the cup again, and wished for a rosy bloom upon her cheeks: the water was sweeter than before, and the colour of her cheeks was heightened.

She next wished for a sparkling eye: the water grew yet more pleasant, and her glances were like the beams of the sun.

She could not yet stop; she drank again, desired to be made a perfect beauty, and a perfect beauty she became.

She had now whatever her heart could wish; and making an humble reverence to *Lilinet*, requested to be restored to her own habitation. They went back, and the fairies in the way wondered at the change of *Floretta's* form. She came home delighted to her mother, who, on seeing the improvement, was yet more delighted than herself.

Her mother from that time pushed her forward into public view: *Floretta* was at all the resorts of idleness and assemblies of pleasure; she was fatigued with balls, she was cloyed with treats, she was exhausted by the necessity of returning compliments. This life delighted her awhile, but custom soon destroyed its pleasure. She found that the men who courted her to day, resigned her on the morrow to other flatterers, and that the wo-

men

men attacked her reputation by whispers and calumnies, till without knowing how she had offended, she was shunned as infamous.

She knew that her reputation was destroyed by the envy of her beauty, and resolved to degrade herself from the dangerous pre-eminence. She went to the bush where she rescued the bird, and called for *Lilinet*. Immediately *Lilinet* appeared, and discovered by *Floretta*'s dejected look, that she had drank too much from the alabaster fountain.

Follow me, she cried, my *Floretta*, and be wiser for the future.

They went to the fountains, and *Floretta* began to taste the waters of sorrow, which were so bitter that she withdrew more than once the cup from her mouth: at last she resolutely drank away the perfection of beauty, the sparkling eye and rosy bloom, and left herself only agreeable.

She lived for some time with great content; but content is seldom lasting. She had a desire in a short time again to taste the waters of joy: she called for the conduct of *Lilinet*, and was led to the alabaster fountain, where she drank, and wished for a faithful lover.

After her return she was soon addressed by a young man, whom she thought worthy of her affection. He courted, and flattered, and promised; till at last she yielded up her heart. He then applied to her parents; and, finding her fortune less than he expected, contrived a quarrel and deserted her.

Exasperated by her disappointment, she went in quest of *Lilinet*, and expostulated with her for the deceit which she

she had practised. *Lilinet* asked her with a smile, for what she had been wishing; and being told, made her this reply, You are not, my dear, to wonder or complain: you may wish for yourself, but your wishes can have no effect upon another. You may become lovely by the efficacy of the fountain, but that you shall be loved is by no means a certain consequence; for you cannot confer upon another either discernment or fidelity: that happiness which you must derive from others, it is not in my power to regulate or bestow.

Floretta was for some time so dejected by this limitation of the fountain's power, that she thought it unworthy of another visit; but being on some occasion thwarted by her mother's authority, she went to *Lilinet*, and drank at the alabaster fountain for a spirit to do her own way.

Lilinet saw that she drank immoderately, and admonished her of her danger; but *spirit*, and *her own way*, gave such sweetness to the water, that she could not prevail upon herself to forbear, till *Lilinet* in pure compassion snatched the cup out of her hand.

When she came home every thought was contempt, and every action was rebellion: she had drank into herself a spirit to resist, but could not give her mother a disposition to yield; the old lady asserted her right to govern; and, though she was often foiled by the impetuosity of her daughter, she supplied by pertinacy what she wanted in violence; so that the house was in continual tumult by the pranks of the daughter and opposition of the mother.

In time, *Floretta* was convinced that *spirit* had only made her a capricious termagant, and that her own

ways

ways ended in error, perplexity and disgrace; she perceived that the vehemence of mind, which to a man may sometimes procure awe and obedience, produce to a woman nothing but detestation; she therefore went back, and by a large draught from the flinty fountain, though the water was very bitter, replaced herself under her mother's care, and quitted her spirit, and her own way.

Floretta's fortune was moderate, and her desires were not larger, till her mother took her to spend a summer at one of the places which wealth and idleness frequent, under pretence of drinking the waters. She was now no longer a perfect beauty, and therefore conversation in her presence took its course as in other company, opinions were freely told, and observations made without reserve. Here *Floretta* first learned the importance of money. When she saw a woman of mean air and empty talk draw the attention of the place, she always discovered, upon enquiry, that she had so many thousands to her fortune.

She soon perceived that where these golden goddesses appeared, neither birth, nor elegance, nor civility, had any power of attraction, that every art of entertainment was devoted to them, and that the great and the wise courted their regard.

The desire after wealth was raised yet higher by her mother, who was always telling her how much neglect she suffered for want of fortune, and what distinctions if she had but a fortune her good qualities would obtain. Her narrative of the day was always, that *Floretta* walked in the morning, but was not spoken to because she

had a small fortune, and that *Floretta* danced at the ball better than any of them, but nobody minded her for want of a fortune.

This want, in which all other wants appeared to be included, *Floretta* was resolved to endure no longer, and came home, flattering her imagination in secret, with the riches which she was now about to obtain.

On the day after her return, she walked out alone to meet lady *Lilinet*, and went with her to the fountain: riches did not taste so sweet as either beauty or spirit, and therefore she was not immoderate in her draught.

When they returned from the cavern, *Lilinet* gave her wand to a fairy that attended her, with an order to conduct *Floretta* to the black rock.

The way was not long, and they soon came to the mouth of a mine in which there was a hidden treasure, guarded by an earthy fairy, deformed and shaggy, who opposed the entrance of *Floretta*, till he recognized the wand of the lady of the mountain. Here *Floretta* saw vast heaps of gold and silver, and gems, gathered and repositied in former ages, and entrusted to the guard of the fairies of the earth. The little fairy delivered the orders of her mistress, and the surly sentinel promised to obey them.

Floretta, wearied with her walk, and pleased with her success, went home to rest, and when she waked in the morning, first opened her eyes upon a cabinet of jewels, and looking into her drawers and boxes, found them filled with gold.

Floretta was now as fine as the finest. She was the first to adopt any expensive fashion, to subscribe to any

pompous entertainment, to encourage any foreign artist, or engage in any frolic of which the cost was to make the pleasure.

She was on a sudden the favourite of every place. 55 Report made her wealth thrice greater than it really was, and wherever she came, all was attention, reverence and obedience. The ladies who had formerly slighted her, or by whom she had been formerly careffed, gratified her pride by open flattery and private murmurs. She sometimes overheard them railing at upstarts, and wondering whence some people came, or how their expences were supplied. This incited her to heighten the splendor of her dress, to increase the number of her retinue, and to make such propositions of costly schemes, that her rivals were forced to desist from contest.

But she now began to find that the tricks which can be played with money, will seldom bear to be repeated, that admiration is a short-lived passion, and that the pleasure of expence is gone when wonder and envy are no more excited. She found that respect was an empty form, and that all those who crouded round her were drawn to her by vanity or interest.

It was however pleasant to be able on any terms to elevate and to mortify, to raise hopes and fears; and she would still have continued to be rich, had not the ambition of her mother contrived to marry her to a lord, whom she despised as ignorant, and abhorred as profligate. Her mother persisted in her importunity; and *Floretta* having now lost the spirit of resistance, had no other refuge than to divest herself of her fairy fortune.

She implored the assistance of *Lilinet*, who praised

her resolution. She drank chearfully from the flinty fountain, and found the waters not extremely bitter. When she returned she went to bed, and in the morning perceived that all her riches had been conveyed away she knew not how, except a few ornamental jewels, which *Lilinet* had ordered to be carried back as a reward for her dignity of mind.

59

She was now almost weary of visiting the fountain, and solaced herself with such amusements as every day happened to produce: at last there arose in her imagination a strong desire to become a wit.

on
in Book
May

The pleasures with which this new character appeared to them were so numerous and so great, that she was impatient to enjoy them; and rising before the sun, hastened to the place where she knew that her fairy patroness was always to be found. / *Lilinet* was willing to conduct her, but could now scarcely restrain her from leading the way but by telling her, that if she went first the fairies of the cavern would refuse her passage.

on
in Book

They came in time to the fountain, and *Floretta* took the golden cup into her hand; she filled it and drank, and again she filled it, for wit was sweeter than riches, spirit, or beauty.

As she returned she felt new successions of imagery rise in her mind, and whatever her memory offered to her imagination, assumed a new form, and connected itself with things to which it seemed before to have no relation. All the appearances about her were changed, but the novelties exhibited were commonly defects. She now saw that almost every thing was wrong, without often seeing how it could be better; and frequently im-

puted to the imperfection of art those failures which were caused by the limitation of nature.

Wherever she went, she breathed nothing but censure and reformation. If she visited her friends, she quarrelled with the situation of their houses, the disposition of their gardens, the direction of their walks, and the termination of their views. It was vain to shew her fine furniture, for she was always ready to tell how it might be finer, or to conduct her through spacious apartments, for her thoughts were full of nobler fabricks, of airy palaces and hesperian gardens. She admired nothing, and praised but little.

Her conversation was generally thought uncivil. If she received flatteries, she seldom repaid them; for she set no value upon vulgar praise. She could not hear a long story without hurrying the speaker on to the conclusion; and obstructed the mirth of her companions, for she rarely took notice of a good jest, and never laughed except when she was delighted.

This behaviour made her unwelcome wherever she went; nor did her speculation upon human manners much contribute to forward her reception. She now saw the disproportions between language and sentiment, between passion and exclamation; she discovered the defects of every action, and the uncertainty of every conclusion; she knew the malignity of friendship, the avarice of liberality, the anxiety of content, and the cowardice of temerity.

To see all this was pleasant, but the greatest of all pleasures was to shew it. To laugh was something, but it was much more to make others laugh. As every deformity of character made a strong impression upon her,

she could not always forbear to transmit it to others; as she hated false appearances, she thought it her duty to detect them, till, between wantonness and virtue, scarce any that she knew escaped without some wounds by the shafts of ridicule; not that her merriment was always the consequence of total contempt, for she often honoured virtue where she laughed at affectation.

67 For these practices, and who can wonder, the cry was raised against her from every quarter, and to hunt her down was generally determined. Every eye was watching for a fault, and every tongue was busy to supply its share of defamation. With the most unpolluted purity of mind, she was censured as too free of favours, because she was not afraid to talk with men: with generous sensibility of every human excellence, she was thought cold or envious, because she would not scatter praise with undistinguishing profusion: with tenderness that agonized at real misery, she was charged with delight in the pain of others, when she would not condole with those whom she knew to counterfeit affliction. She derided false appearances of kindness and of pity, and was therefore avoided as an enemy to society. / As she seldom commended or censured but with some limitations and exceptions, the world condemned her as indifferent to the good and bad; and because she was often doubtful where others were confident, she was charged with laxity of principles, while her days were distracted and her rest broken by niceties of honour and scruples of morality.

NP
in ball
Report had now made her so formidable, that all flattered and all shunned her. If a lover gave a ball to his mistress and her friends, it was stipulated that *Floretta* should

should not be invited. If she entered a public room, the ladies courtesied, and shrunk away, for there was no such thing as speaking, but *Floretta* would find something to criticise. If a girl was more spritely than her aunt, she was threatened that in a little time she would be like *Floretta*. Visits were very diligently paid when *Floretta* was known not to be at home; and no mother trusted her daughter to herself without a caution, if she should meet *Floretta*, to leave the company as soon as she could.

With all this *Floretta* made sport at first, but in time grew weary of general hostility. She would have been content with a few friends, but no friendship was durable; it was the fashion to desert her, and with the fashion what fidelity will contend? She could have easily amused herself in solitude, but that she thought it mean to quit the field to treachery and folly.

Persecution at length tired her constancy, and she implored *Lilinet* to rid her of her wit: *Lilinet* complied and walked up the mountain, but was often forced to stop and wait for her follower. When they came to the flinty fountain, *Floretta* filled a small cup, and slowly brought it to her lips, but the water was insupportably bitter. She just tasted it, and dashed it to the ground, diluted the bitterness at the fountain of alabaster, and resolved to keep her wit with all its consequences.

Being now a wit for life, she surveyed the various conditions of mankind with such superiority of sentiment, that she found few distinctions to be envied or desired, and therefore did not very soon make another visit to the fountain. At length being alarmed by sickness, she resolved to drink length of life from the golden cup. She

returned elated and secure, for though the longevity acquired was indeterminate, she considered death as far distant, and therefore suffered it not to intrude upon her pleasures.

72 But length of life included not perpetual health. She felt herself continually decaying, and saw the world fading about her. The delights of her early days would delight no longer, and however widely she extended her view, no new pleasure could be found; her friends, her enemies, her admirers, her rivals dropped one by one into the grave, and with those who succeeded them she had neither community of joys nor strife of competition.

By this time she began to doubt whether old age were not dangerous to virtue; whether pain would not produce peevishness, and peevishness impair benevolence. She thought that the spectacle of life might be too long continued, and the vices which were often seen might raise less abhorrence; that resolution might be sapped by time, and let that virtue sink, which in its firmest state it had not without difficulty supported; and that it was vain to delay the hour which must come at last, and might come at a time of less preparation and greater imbecillity.

These thoughts led her to *Lilinet*, whom she accompanied to the flinty fountain; where, after a short combat with herself, she drank the bitter water. They walked back to the favourite bush pensive and silent; and now, said she, accept my thanks for the last benefit that *Flaretta* can receive. Lady *Lilinet* dropped a tear, impressed upon her lips the final kiss, and resigned her, as she resigned herself, to the course of nature.

A D V E R -

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE FOURTH EDITION OF THE
DICTIONARY *of the* ENGLISH LANGUAGE*.

MANY are the works of human industry, which to begin and finish are hardly granted to the same man. He that undertakes to compile a Dictionary, undertakes that, which, if it comprehends the full extent of his design, he knows himself unable to perform. Yet his labours, though deficient, may be useful, and with the hope of this inferior praise, he must incite his activity, and solace his weariness.

Perfection is unattainable, but nearer and nearer approaches may be made; and finding my Dictionary about to be reprinted, I have endeavoured, by a revival, to make it less reprehensible. I will not deny that I found many parts requiring emendation, and many more capable of improvement. Many faults I have corrected, some superfluities I have taken away and some deficiencies I have supplied. I have methodised some parts that were disordered, and illuminated some that were obscure. Yet the changes or additions bear a very small proportion to the whole. The critic will now have less to object, but the student who has bought any of the former copies needs not repent; he will not, without nice collation, perceive how they differ; and usefulness seldom depends upon little things.

For negligence or deficiency, I have perhaps not need of more apology than the nature of the work will furnish: I have left that inaccurate which never was made exact, and that imperfect which never was completed.

* Published in folio, 1773.

DR.

DR. DODD'S ADDRESS,

On receiving SENTENCE of DEATH, *May 26, 1777.*

My Lord,

I NOW stand before you a dreadful example of human infirmity. I entered upon public life with the expectations common to young men, whose education has been liberal, and whose abilities have been flattered; and, when I became a clergyman, considered myself as not impairing the dignity of the order. I was not an *idle*, nor, I hope, an *useless* Minister. I taught the truths of Christianity, with the zeal of conviction, and the authority of innocence.—My labours were approved; my pulpit became popular; and I have reason to believe, that, of those who heard me, some have been *preserved* from sin, and some have been *reclaimed*.—Condescend, my lord, to think, if these considerations aggravate my crime, how much they must embitter my punishment!

Being distinguished and elevated by the confidence of mankind, I had too much confidence in myself; and, thinking my integrity, what others thought it, established in sincerity, and fortified by religion, I did not consider the danger of vanity, nor suspect the deceitfulness of my own heart. The day of conflict came, in which temptation surprised and overwhelmed me. I committed the crime, which I entreat your lordship to believe that my conscience hourly represents to me in its
full

full bulk of mischief and malignity. Many have been overpowered by temptation, who are now among the penitent in heaven.

To an act, *now* waiting the decision of vindictive justice, I will not presume to oppose the counterbalance of almost thirty years—a great part of the life of man—passed in exciting and exercising charity; in relieving such distresses as I now feel; in administering those consolations which I now want. I will not otherwise extenuate my offence, than by declaring, *what I hope will appear to many, and which many circumstances make probable, that I did not intend to be finally fraudulent; nor will it become me to apportion my own punishment, by alledging that my sufferings have been not much less than my guilt.* // *Same?*

I have fallen from reputation, which ought to have made me cautious; and from a fortune, which ought to have given me content. I am sunk at once into poverty and scorn; my name and my crime fill the ballads in the streets; the sport of the thoughtless, and the triumph of the wicked.

It may seem strange, *[my lord,]* that, remembering what I have lately been, I should still wish to continue what I am. But contempt of death, how speciously soever it might mingle with heathen virtues, has nothing in it suitable to Christian penitence. Many motives impel me to beg earnestly for life. I feel the natural horror of a violent death, and the universal dread of untimely dissolution. I am desirous to recompense the injury I have done to the clergy, to the world, and to religion; and to efface the scandal of my crime, by the example

example of my repentance. But, above all, I wish to die with thoughts more composed, and calmer preparation. The gloom [and confusion] of a prison, the anxiety of a trial, [the horror of suspense,] and the inevitable vicissitudes of passion, leave [not] the mind [in a due disposition for] the holy exercises of prayer and self-examination.—Let not a little life be denied me, in which I may, by meditation and contrition, [prepare myself] to stand at the tribunal of Omnipotence, and support the presence of that *Judge*, who shall distribute to all according to their works; who will receive and pardon the repenting sinner; and from whom the merciful shall obtain mercy!

For these reasons, [my lord,] amidst shame and misery, I yet wish to live; and most humbly implore that I may be recommended by your lordship to the clemency of his Majesty!

THE
CONVICT'S ADDRESS
TO HIS
UNHAPPY BRETHREN.

Delivered in the CHAPEL of NEWGATE, on
FRIDAY, JUNE 6, 1777.

By WILLIAM DODD, LL.D.

I acknowledge my Faults : and my Sin is ever before me.

PSALM li. 3.

**To the Reverend Mr. VILLETTE,
ORDINARY of NEWGATE.**

REVEREND SIR,

THE following Address owes its present public appearance to you. I read it to you after it was composed, and you thought it proper to be delivered, as was intended. You heard it delivered, and are pleased to think that its publication will be useful.—To a poor and abject worm, like myself, this is a sufficient inducement to that publication; and I heartily pray God, that in your hands it may frequently and effectually administer to the instruction and comfort of the miserable.

I am, dear Sir,

With my sincerest thanks for your humane and
friendly attention,

Your truly sorrowful,

and much afflicted Brother in Christ,

Friday, June 6,
1777.

WILLIAM DODD.

A N

A D D R E S S , &c.

My dear and unhappy Fellow-Prisoners,

CONSIDERING my peculiar circumstances and situation, I cannot think myself justified, if I do not deliver to you, in sincere christian love, some of my serious thoughts on our present awful state.

In the sixteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, you read a memorable story respecting *Paul* and *Silas*, who, for preaching the Gospel, were cast by magistrates into prison, ver. 23.—and, after having received many stripes, were committed to the *jaylor*, with a strict charge to keep them safely. Accordingly he thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks. At midnight *Paul* and *Silas*, supported by the testimony of a good conscience, prayed, and sung praises to God, and the prisoners heard them; and suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison were shaken; and immediately all the doors were opened, and every one's chains were loosed. The keeper of the prison awaking out of his sleep, and seeing the prison doors open, in the greatest distress, as might well be imagined, drew his sword, and would have killed himself, supposing that the prisoners had been fled.—But

Paul

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Paul cried with a loud voice, Do thyself no harm, for we are all here.—The keeper, calling for a light, and finding his prisoners thus freed from their bonds by the imperceptible agency of divine power, was irresistibly convinced that these men were not offenders against the law, but martyrs to the truth: he sprang in therefore, and came trembling, and fell down before *Paul* and *Silas*, and brought them out, and said, SIRs, WHAT MUST I DO TO BE SAVED?

What must I do to be saved? is the important question, which it becomes every human being to study from the first hour of reason to the last: but which we, my fellow-prisoners, ought to consider with particular diligence and intenseness of meditation. Had it not been forgotten, or neglected by us, we had never appeared in this place. A little time for recollection and amendment is yet allowed us by the mercy of the law. Of this little time let no particle be lost. Let us fill our remaining life with all the duties which our present condition allows us to practise. Let us make one earnest effort for salvation!—And oh! heavenly Father, who desirest not the death of a sinner, grant that this effort may not be in vain!

To teach others what *they must do to be saved*, has long been my employment and profession. You see with what confusion and dishonour I now stand before you—no more in the pulpit of instruction, but on this humble seat with yourselves.—You are not to consider me now as a man authorised to form the manners, or direct the conscience, and speaking with the authority of a pastor to his flock.—I am here guilty, like yourselves,
of

of a capital offence: and sentenced, like yourselves, to publick and shameful death. My profession, which has given me stronger convictions of my duty than most of you can be supposed to have attained, and has extended my views to the consequences of wickedness farther than your observation is likely to have reached, has loaded my sin with peculiar aggravations; and I entreat you to join your prayers with mine, that my sorrow may be proportionate to my guilt!

I am now, like you, enquiring, *what I must do to be saved?* and stand here to communicate to you what that enquiry suggests. Hear me with attention, my fellow-prisoners; and in your melancholy hours of retirement, consider well what I offer to you from the sincerity of my good-will, and from the deepest conviction of a penitent heart.

Salvation is promised to us Christians, on the terms of *faith, obedience, and repentance*. I shall therefore endeavour to shew, how, in the short interval between this moment and death, we may exert *faith*, perform *obedience*, and exercise *repentance*, in a manner which our heavenly Father may, in his infinite mercy, vouchsafe to accept.

I. *Faith* is the foundation of all Christian virtue. It is that *without which it is impossible to please God*. I shall therefore consider, first, How *faith* is to be particularly exerted by us in our present state.

Faith is a full and undoubting confidence in the declarations made by God in the holy scriptures; a sincere reception of the doctrines taught by our blessed Saviour, with a firm assurance that he died to take away the sins

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of the world, and that we have, each of us, a part in the boundless benefits of the universal Sacrifice.

To this *faith* we must have recourse at all times, but particularly if we find ourselves tempted to despair. If thoughts arise in our minds, which suggest that we have sinned beyond the hope of pardon, and that therefore it is vain to seek for reconciliation by repentance; we must remember how God willeth that every man should be saved, and that those who obey his call, however late, shall not be rejected.—If we are tempted to think that the injuries we have done are unrepaired, and therefore repentance is vain; let us remember that the reparation which is impossible is not required; that sincerely to will, is to do, in the sight of Him to whom all hearts are open; and that what is deficient in our endeavours is supplied by the merits of Him who died to redeem us.

Yet let us likewise be careful, lest an erroneous opinion of the all-sufficiency of our Saviour's merits lull us into carelessness and security. His merits are indeed all-sufficient! But he has prescribed the terms on which they are to operate. He died to save sinners, but to save only those sinners that repent. *Peter*, who denied him, was forgiven, but he obtained his pardon *by weeping bitterly*. They who live in perpetual regularity of duty, and are free from any gross or visible transgression, are yet but *unprofitable servants*:—what then are we, whose crimes are hastening us to the grave before our time?—Let us *work with fear and trembling*, but still let us endeavour to *work out our salvation*. Let us hope without presumption; let us fear without desperation; and

have lived

and let our faith animate us to that which we were to consider,

Secondly, "Sincere *obedience* to the laws of God." Our obedience, for the short time yet remaining, is restrained to a narrow circle. Those duties, which are called social and relative, are for the most part out of our power. We can contribute very little to the general happiness of mankind, while on those, whom kindred and friendship have allied to us, we have brought disgrace and sorrow. We can only benefit the public by an example of contrition, and fortify our friends against temptation by warning and admonition.

The obedience left us now to practise is "submission" to the will of God, and calm acquiescence in his wisdom and his justice." We must not allow ourselves to repine at those miseries which have followed our offences, but suffer, with silent humility and resigned patience, the punishment which we deserve; remembering that, according to the apostle's decision, no praise is due to them who bear with *patience to be buffeted for their fault*.

When we consider the wickedness of our past lives, and the danger of having been summoned to the final judgment without preparation, we shall, I hope, gradually rise so much above the gross conceptions of human nature, as to return thanks to God for what once seemed the most dreadful of all evils—our detection and conviction!—We shrink back, by immediate and instinctive terror, from the public eye, turned as it is upon us with indignation and contempt. Imprisonment is afflictive, and ignominious death is fearful! But let

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us compare our condition with that which our actions might reasonably have incurred.—The robber might have died in the act of violence, by lawful resistance. The man of fraud might have sunk into the grave, while he was enjoying the gain of his artifice :—and *where then had been our hope?* We have now leisure for thought; we have opportunities of instruction : and whatever we suffer from offended laws, may yet reconcile ourselves to God, who, if we sincerely *seek* him, will assuredly be *found*.

But how are we to *seek the Lord*? By the way which he himself hath appointed ; by humble, fervent, and frequent prayer.—Some hours of worship are appointed us ; let us duly observe them. Some assistance to our devotion is supplied ; let us thankfully accept it. But let us not rest in formality and prescription : let us call upon God night and day. When, in the review of the times which we have past, any offence arises to our thoughts, let us humbly implore forgiveness ; and for those faults (and many they are and must be) which we cannot recollect, let us *solicit* mercy in general petitions. But it must be our constant care, that we pray not merely with our lips ; but that when we lament our sins, we are really humbled in self-*abhorrence* * ; and that, when we call for mercy, we raise our thoughts to hope and trust in the goodness of God, and the merits of our blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ.

The reception of the *holy sacrament*, to which we shall be called, in the most solemn manner, perhaps a few

* See *Job*, chap. xlii. ver. [6]

hours before we die, is the highest act of Christian worship. At that awful moment it will become us to drop for ever all worldly thoughts, to fix our hopes solely upon Christ, whose death is represented; and to consider ourselves as no longer connected with mortality.—And, possibly, it may please God to afford *us* some consolation, some secret intimations of acceptance and forgiveness. But these radiations of favour are not always felt by the sincerest penitents. To the greater part of those whom angels stand ready to receive, nothing is granted in this world beyond rational *hope*;—and with *hope*, founded on *promise*, we may well be satisfied.

But such promises of salvation are made only to the penitent. It is requisite then that we consider,

Thirdly, “How *Repentance* is to be exercised.” Repentance, in the general state of Christian life, is such a sorrow for sin as produces a change of manners, and an amendment of life. It is that disposition of mind, by which he *who stole, steals no more*; by which the *wicked man turneth away from his wickedness, and doth that which is lawful and right*. And to the man thus reformed, it is expressly promised, that *he shall save his soul alive*†. Of this repentance the proofs are visible, and the reality certain, always to the penitent, and commonly to the church with which he communicates; because the state of the mind is discovered by the outward actions.—But

† There cannot be a stronger exemplification of this idea than the conduct of the *Jaylor*, who uttered the question, with which we commenced our enquiry—*What shall I do to be saved?*—What a change of mind and manners was wrought in him by the power of God! Read Acts, chap. xvi.

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of the repentance which *our* condition requires and admits, no such evidence can appear; for to us many crimes and many virtues are made impossible by confinement; and the shortness of the time which is before us gives little power, even to ourselves, of distinguishing the effects of terror from those of conviction; of deciding, whether our present sorrow for sin proceeds from abhorrence of guilt, or dread of punishment; whether the violence of our inordinate passions be totally subdued by the fear of God, or only crushed and restrained by the temporary force of present calamity.

18
Our repentance is like that of other sinners on the death-bed; but with this advantage, that our danger is not greater, and our strength is more. Our faculties are not impaired by weakness of body. We come to the great work not withered by pains, nor clouded by the fumes of disease, but with minds capable of continued attention, and with bodies, of which *we* need have no care! we may therefore better discharge this tremendous duty, and better judge of our own performance.

9
Of the efficacy of a death-bed repentance many have disputed; but we have no leisure for controversy. Fix in your minds this decision, "Repentance is a change of the heart, of an evil to a good disposition." When that change is made, repentance is complete. God will consider that life as amended, which would have been amended if he had spared it. Repentance in the sight of man, even of the penitent, is not known but by its *fruits*: but our Creator sees the fruit, in the blossom, or the seed. He knows those resolutions which are fixed,
those

those conversions which would be permanent; and will receive them who are qualified by holy desires for works of righteousness, without exacting from them those outward duties which the shortness of their lives hindered them from performing.

Nothing therefore remains, but that we apply with all our speed, and with all our strength, to rectify our desires, and purify our thoughts; that we set God before us in all his goodness and terrors; that we consider him as the Father and the Judge of all the earth; as a Father, desirous to save; as a Judge, who cannot pardon unrepented iniquity; that we fall down before him self-condemned, and excite in our hearts an intense detestation of those crimes which have provoked him; with vehement and steady resolutions, that if life were granted us, it should be spent hereafter in the practice of our duty*; that we pray the giver of *grace* to strengthen and impress these holy thoughts, and to accept our repentance, though late, and in its beginnings violent; that we improve every good motion by diligent prayer; and having *declared* and *confirmed* † our *faith* by the holy

* See 2 Cor. ch. v. ver. 14, 15.

† I would have this expression to be particularly attended to—While as a dying man, and with all possible sincerity of soul, I add, that if I could wish to *declare* my faith, I know not of any words in which I could do it so well, and so perfectly to my satisfaction, as in the *Communion* service of our Church: and if I would wish to *confirm* that faith, I know not of any appointed method so thoroughly adapted to that end as *participation* in that communion itself.—See particularly in this service, the *Exhortation*, *Confession*, prayer beginning *We do not presume*, &c.—*Consecration*—and prayer after receiving, *O Lord and heavenly Father*, &c.—Convicts should diligently and repeatedly read over the service before they communicate.

communion,—we deliver ourselves into his hands, in firm hope, that he who created and redeemed us will not suffer us to perish. *Rom. v. 8. viii. 32.*

21 The condition, without which forgiveness is not to be obtained, is that we forgive others. There is always a danger lest men, fresh from a trial in which life has been lost, should remember with resentment and malignity the prosecutor, the witnesses, or the judges. It is indeed scarce possible, that with all the prejudices of an interest so weighty, and so affecting, the convict should think otherwise, than that he has been treated, in some part of the process, with unnecessary severity. In this opinion he is perhaps singular, and therefore probably mistaken. But there is no time for disquisition: we must try to find the shortest way to peace. It is easier to forgive, than to reason right. He that has been injuriously or unnecessarily harrassed, has one opportunity more of proving his sincerity, by forgiving the wrong, and praying for his enemy.

22 It is the duty of a penitent to repair, so far as he has the power, the injury which he has done. What we can do is commonly nothing more than to leave the world an example of contrition. On the dreadful day, when the sentence of the law has its full force, some will be found to have affected a shameless bravery, or negligent intrepidity. Such is not the proper behaviour of a convicted criminal. To rejoice in tortures, is the privilege of a martyr; to meet death with intrepidity, is the right only of innocence, if in any human being innocence could be found. Of him whose life is shortened by his crimes, the last duties are humility and self-abasement;

abatement. We owe to God sincere repentance; we owe to man the appearance of repentance.—We ought not to propagate an opinion, that he who lived in wickedness can die with courage. If the serenity or gaiety, with which some men have ended a life of guilt, were unfeigned, they can be imputed only to ignorance or stupidity, or, what is more horrid, to voluntary intoxication:—if they were artificial and hypocritical, they are acts of deception, the useless and unprofitable crimes of pride unmortified, and obstinacy unsubdued.

There is yet another crime possible, and, as there is reason to believe, sometimes committed in the last moment, on the margin of eternity.—Men have died with a steadfast denial of crimes, of which it is very difficult to suppose them innocent. By what equivocation or reserve they may have reconciled their consciences to falsehood, if their consciences were at all consulted, it is impossible to know. But if they thought, that, when they were to die, they paid their legal forfeit, and that the world had no farther demand upon them; that therefore they might, by keeping their own secrets, try to leave behind them a disputable reputation; and that the falsehood was harmless, because none were injured;—they had very little considered the nature of society. One of the principal parts of national felicity arises from a wise and impartial administration of justice. Every man reposes upon the tribunals of his country the stability of possession, and the serenity of life. He therefore who unjustly exposes the courts of judicature to suspicion, either of partiality or error, not only does an injury to those who dispense the laws, but diminishes the public

23

/live.
sic

public confidence in the laws themselves, and shakes the foundation of public tranquillity.

For my own part, I confess, with deepest compunction, the crime which has brought me to this place; and admit the justice of my sentence, while I am sinking under its severity. And I earnestly exhort you, my fellow-prisoners, to acknowledge the offences which have been already proved; and to bequeath to our country that confidence in public justice, without which there can be neither peace nor safety.

As few men suffer for their first offences, and most convicts are conscious of more crimes than have been brought within judicial cognizance, it is necessary to enquire how far confession ought to be extended. Peace of mind, or desire of instruction, may sometimes demand, that to the minister, whose counsel is requested, a long course of evil life should be discovered:—but of this every man must determine for himself.—To the public, every man, before he departs from life, is obliged to confess those acts which have brought, or may bring, unjust suspicion upon others; and to convey such information as may enable those who have suffered losses to obtain restitution.

Whatever good remains in our power we must diligently perform.—We must prevent, to the utmost of our power, all the evil consequences of our crimes.—We must forgive all who have injured us.—We must, by fervency of prayer, and constancy in meditation, endeavour to repress all worldly passions, and generate in our minds that love of goodness, and hatred of sin, which may fit us for the society of heavenly minds.—

And,

TO HIS UNHAPPY BRETHREN. 395

And, finally, we must commend and entrust our souls to HIM, who died for the sins of men; with earnest wishes and humble hopes, that he will admit us with the labourers who entered the vineyard at the *last hour*, and associate us with the *thief* whom he pardoned on the cross!

To this great end, you will not refuse to unite with me, on bended knees, and with humbled hearts, in fervent prayer to the throne of grace! May the Father of mercy hear our supplications, and have compassion upon us!

“ O almighty Lord God, the righteous JUDGE of all
“ the earth, who in thy providential justice dost frequently inflict severe vengeance upon sinners in this
“ life, that thou mayest by their sad examples effectually deter others from committing the like heinous
“ offences; and that they themselves, truly repenting of
“ their faults, may escape the condemnation of hell:—
“ look down in mercy upon us, *thy sorrowful servants*,
“ whom thou hast suffered to become the unhappy objects of offended justice in this world!

“ Give us a thorough sense of all those evil *thoughts*,
“ *words*, and *works*, which have so provoked thy patience, that thou hast been pleased to permit this public and shameful judgment to fall upon us; and grant
“ us such a portion of grace and godly sincerity, that
“ we may heartily confess, and unfeignedly repent of
“ every breach of those most *holy laws and ordinances*,
“ *which if a man do, he shall even live in them*.

“ Let no root of bitterness and malice, no habitual
“ and deadly sin, either of *omission* or *commission*, remain
“ undi-

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“ undisturbed in our hearts ! But enable us to make our
 “ repentance universal, without the least flattering or de-
 “ ceitful reserve, that so we may clear our consciences
 “ before we close our eyes.

31 “ And now that thou hast brought us within the view
 “ of our long home, and made us sensible, that the time
 “ of our dissolution draweth near ; endue us, we hum-
 “ bly pray thee, O gracious Father, with such christian
 “ fortitude, that neither the terrors of thy present dis-
 “ pensations, nor the remembrance of our former sins,
 “ may have power to sink our spirits into a despon-
 “ dency of thy everlasting mercies in the adorable son
 “ of thy love.

32 “ Wean our thoughts and affections, good Lord, from
 “ all the vain and delusive enjoyments of this transitory
 “ world ; that we may not only with patient resignation
 “ submit to the appointed stroke of death, but that our
 “ faith and hope may be so elevated, that we may con-
 “ ceive a longing desire to be dissolved from these our
 “ earthly tabernacles, and to be with Christ, which is
 “ far better than all the happiness we can wish for be-
 “ sides !

33 “ And in a due sense of our own extraordinary want
 “ of forgiveness at thy hands, and of our utter unwor-
 “ thiness of the very least of all thy favours—of the
 “ meanest crumbs which fall from thy table—Oh ! blessed
 “ Lord Jesus ! make us so truly and universally chari-
 “ table, that in an undissembled compliance with thy own
 “ awful command, and most endearing example, we
 “ may both freely forgive and cordially pray for our
 “ most inveterate *enemies, persecutors, and slanderers!*—
 “ Forgive

TO HIS UNHAPPY BRETHREN. 397

" Forgive them, O Lord, we beseech thee—turn their
" hearts, and fill them with thy love !

34
" Thus, may we humbly trust, our sorrowful prayers
" and tears will be acceptable in thy sight. Thus shall
" we be qualified, through Christ, to exchange this dis-
" mal bodily confinement [and these uneasy fetters] for
" the glorious liberty of the sons of God.—And thus
" shall our legal doom upon earth be changed into a
" comfortable declaration of mercy in the highest hea-
" vens :—and all through thy most precious and all-
" sufficient merits, O blessed Saviour of mankind !—
" who with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, livest and
" reignest ever, *one God*, world without end. Amen *."

* See ROSSELL's *Prisoner's Director* :—a work of some merit—
and which I have endeavoured, in my melancholy hours of leisure,
to revise, and (I humbly hope) improve ; and mean to leave be-
hind me, in the hands of the Ordinary, as a small testimony of
my sincere, but very weak, endeavours for the best welfare of un-
happy men in confinement ; to whom I have written a general *Ad-
dress*, to be prefixed to the new edition of ROSSELL.



P A P E R S

WRITTEN BY

DR. JOHNSON

FOR

DR. DODD, DURING HIS IMPRISONMENT.

INTRODUCTION.

WHAT is to be expected in the following papers, their titles sufficiently indicate. The interest taken by the public in the sentence of the unfortunate man to whom they relate, naturally produced this publication.

He that commits these papers to the press, desires not to be considered as approving or condemning. He means to gratify the honest curiosity of the reader, and hopes that his curiosity may end in useful meditation.

The papers are printed without any alteration, except the omission of a few words in one of the letters, which had a personal reference, and which therefore it was proper to suppress.

The

The most important of these pieces is the criminal's account of himself, which one of his friends advised him to have dilated more ; but the day of execution was approaching, and he may be easily forgiven if he left his story imperfect. He had, we ought to hope, other employment.

* Dr. D O D D's Account of Himself.

THE greatest affliction and oppression to my mind at present is, the piercing reflection that I, who have lived all my life in an endeavour to promote the truth of Christianity, should now become an obstacle to that truth, and a scandal to that profession:—that I, who have with all my power, and with all sincerity, laboured to do good, and be a blessing to my fellow-creatures, should now become an evil and a curse. What shall I, can I, ought I to do, to prevent, as much as in me lies, any such dreadful consequences of my shame and my crime ? Will a public attestation of my sincere belief of Christianity, and an ingenuous detail and confession of my offences, be of any avail ?—In order to do this, and to acquaint you in few words with a perfect knowledge

* Of this account Dr. Dodd may be said to have only drawn the outlines ; the picture, as it appears, was finished by Dr. Johnson.

of myself, (though I should wish to do it more fully) be so good as to consider the few following particulars.

I entered very young on public life, very innocent—very ignorant—and very ingenuous. I lived many happy years at West Ham, in an uninterrupted and successful discharge of my duty. A disappointment in the living of that parish obliged me to exert myself, and I engaged for a chapel near Buckingham Gate. Great success attended the undertaking: it pleased and elated me. At the same time Lord *Chesterfield*, to whom I was personally unknown, offered me the care of his heir, Mr. S—*. By the advice of my dear friend, now in heaven, Dr. *Squire*, I engaged under promises which were not performed. Such a distinction too, you must know, served to increase a young man's vanity. I was naturally led into more extensive and important connections, and, of course, into greater expences, and more dissipation. Indeed, before, I never dissipated at all—for many, many years, never seeing a play-house, or any public place, but living entirely in Christian duties. Thus brought to town, and introduced to gay life, I fell into its snares. Ambition and vanity led me on. My temper, naturally chearful, was pleased with company; naturally generous, it knew not the use of money; it was a stranger to the useful science of oeconomy and frugality; nor could it withhold from distress, what it too much (often) wanted itself.

Besides this, the habit of uniform, regular, sober piety, and of watchfulness and devotion, wearing off, and

* The present Lord Chesterfield.

this unavoidable scene of dissipation, I was not, as at *West Ham*, the innocent man that I lived there. I committed offences against my God ! which yet, I bless him, were always, in reflection, detestable to me.

But my greatest evil was expence. To supply it I fell into the dreadful and ruinous mode of raising money by annuities. The annuities devoured me. Still I exerted myself by every means to do what I thought right, and built my hopes of perfect extrication from all my difficulties when my young and beloved pupil should come of age. But alas ! during this interval, which was not very long, I declare with solemn truth, that I never varied from the steady belief of the Christian doctrines ! I preached them with all my power, and kept back nothing from my congregations which I thought might tend to their best welfare ; and I was very successful in this way during the time. Nor, though I spent in dissipation many hours which I ought not, but to which my connections inevitably led, was I idle during this period : as my Commentary on the Bible, my Sermons to Young Men, and several other publications prove. I can say too, with pleasure, that I studiously employed my interest, through the connections I had, for the good of others ; I never forgot or neglected the cause of the distressed ; many, if need were, could bear me witness. Let it suffice to say, that during this period I instituted the charity for the Discharge of Debtors.

Such is the plain and ingenuous detail of myself. I sincerely lament all I have done wrong. I love, and ever did, religion and goodness. I hate and abhor vice, and myself for ever having committed any. I look

D d

with

with peculiar detestation on the crime to which I am at present obnoxious ; and I wish before I die, of all things, if it be possible, to make amends—by the most sincere and full confession and humiliation of myself.

W. D O D D.

May 21, 1777.

The following DECLARATION Dr. DODD inclosed in a Letter to a Friend some time before he suffered.

THOUGH I acknowledge in all its atrocity, and more especially with a view to my peculiar circumstances and character, the offence for which I suffer,—yet, considering that it is punished with such sanguinary severity in no commercial state under heaven ; and that in my case it has been fully atoned for, so far as human creatures can atone to each other ; I cannot but judge my punishment rather hard :—and still more so, as that public (for whose benefit and example such ignominious death and punishment can alone be intended) has with a pleading, and almost unanimous voice supplicated the throne, in the most humble manner, to shew mercy, and avert the abhorred stroke, by assigning another, though perhaps not less afflictive punishment.

In this dispensation, however, I look far beyond the hand of poor human vengeance, and adore the justice
and

and goodness of God, who correcting me in judgment for deviations from the purity of his Gospel, as a distinguished minister of it, has been pleased to call me thus by death to proclaim my repentance, and to attest my faith in Him; and to declare to all my fellow-creatures, and to my beloved countrymen in particular, for whose love to me I am under the highest obligations, my firm belief of the principles which I have long preached, and in my writings delivered with the utmost truth and sincerity, and which I thus seal with my blood, in perfect resignation to the will of my adorable Master, and in a firm dependence on those principles for the salvation of my own soul.

W. D O D D.

**LETTERS to two noble Lords of his Majesty's
Most Honourable Privy Council.**

L E T T E R I.

*Kearley, in el.
1365*

My lord, *

I HAVE committed a capital crime, for which the sentence of the law has passed upon me; and whether that sentence shall be executed in its full rigour, may, perhaps, depend upon the suffrage of your lordship.

The shame and self-reproach with which I now solicit your commiseration, I hope no man will ever feel, who

* Lord North, then Prime Minister.

has not deserved to feel them like myself. But I will not despair of being heard with pity, when, under the terrors of a speedy and disgraceful death, I most humbly implore your lordship's intercession.

My life has not been wholly useless; I have laboured in my calling diligently and successfully; but success inflamed my vanity, and my heart betrayed me. Violent passions have exposed me to violent temptations; but I am not the first whom temptation has overthrown. I have, in all my deviations, kept Right always in view, and have invariably resolved to return to it. Whether, in a prosperous state, I should have kept my resolution, public justice has not suffered me to know.

My crime has been indeed atrocious, but my punishment has not been light. From a height of reputation, which perhaps raised envy in others, and certainly produced pride in myself, I have fallen to the lowest and grossest infamy; from an income which prudence might have made plentiful, I am reduced to live on those remains of charity which infamy has left me.

When so much has been given to justice, I humbly intreat that life, such as it must now be, may be given to mercy; and that your lordship's influence may be employed in disposing our Sovereign to look with compassion on,

My lord,

Your lordship's

Most humble suppliant,

WILLIAM DODD.

June 11, 1777.

LET.

L E T T E R II.

My lord, *

NOT many days are now to pass before the fate of one of the most miserable of human beings will be finally determined. The efficacy of your lordship's voice is well known; and whether I shall immediately suffer an ignominious death, or wander the rest of my days in ignominious exile, your opinion will probably determine. Do not refuse, my lord, to hear the plea, whatever it may be, which I humbly oppose to the extremity of justice.

I acknowledge, my lord, the atrociousness of my crime; I admit the truth of the verdict that condemned me; yet I hope, that when my evil is censured, my good may likewise be remembered; and that it may be considered how much that society, which is injured by my fraud, has been benefited by my charitable labours. —I have offended; I am penitent; I entreat but for life, for a life which must pass certainly in dishonour, and probably in want. Do not refuse, my lord, to compassionate a man who, blasted in fame, and ruined in fortune, yet shrinks with terror from the precipice of eternity. Let me live, however miserable; and let my miseries warn all those to whom they shall be known, against self-indulgence, vanity, and profusion.

Once more, my lord, let me beg for life; and when you see me going from the gloom of a prison to the

* Earl Mansfield.

penury of banishment, do not consider public justice as wholly unsatisfied by the sufferings of,

My lord,

Your lordship's

Most humble Supplicant,

WILLIAM DODD.

June 11, 1777.

[Dr. DODD's Petition, presented by his
Brother.]

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.

SIR,

IT is most humbly represented to your Majesty by *William Dodd*, the unhappy convict now lying under sentence of death :

That *William Dodd*, acknowledging the justice of the sentence denounced against him, has no hope or refuge but in your Majesty's clemency.

That though to recollect or mention the usefulness of his life, or the efficacy of his ministry, must overwhelm him, in his present condition, with shame and sorrow, he yet humbly hopes that his past labours will not wholly be forgotten ; and that the zeal with which he has exhorted others to a good life, though it does not extenuate his crime, may mitigate his punishment.

: That

That debased as he is by ignominy, and distressed as he is by poverty, scorned by the world, and detested by himself, deprived of all external comforts, and afflicted by consciousness of guilt, he can derive no hopes of longer life, but that of repairing the injury he has done to mankind, by exhibiting an example of shame and submission, and of expiating his sins by prayer and penitence.

That for this end he humbly implores/ from the clemency of your Majesty, the continuance of a life legally forfeited; and of the days which by your gracious compassion he may yet live, no one shall pass without a prayer, that your Majesty, after a long life of happiness and honour, may stand, at the day of final judgment, among the merciful that obtain mercy.

So fervently prays the most distressed and wretched of your Majesty's subjects.

WILLIAM DODD.

[Mrs. DODD's Petition, presented by herself.]

To the QUEEN's Most Excellent Majesty.

MADAM,

IT is most humbly represented by *Mary Dodd*, the wife of Dr. *William Dodd*, now lying in prison under sentence of death :

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That

Therefore
That she has been the wife of this unhappy man more than twenty-seven years, and has lived with him in the greatest happiness of conjugal union, and the highest state of conjugal confidence.

That she has been a constant witness of his unwearied endeavours for public good, and his laborious attendance on charitable institutions. Many are the families whom his care has delivered from want; many are the hearts which he has freed from pain, and the faces which he has cleared from sorrow.

That therefore she most humbly throws herself at the feet of the Queen, earnestly entreating that the petition of a distressed wife asking mercy for a husband, may be considered as naturally soliciting the compassion of her Majesty; and that when her wisdom has compared the offender's good actions with his crime, she will be pleased to represent his case to our most gracious Sovereign in such terms as may dispose him to mitigate the rigour of the law.

So prays your Majesty's most dutiful subject and suppliant,

M A R Y D O D D.

SUCH were the last thoughts of a man whom we have seen exulting in popularity, and sunk in shame. For his reputation, which no man can give to himself, those who conferred it are to answer. Of his public ministry, the means of judging were sufficiently attainable.

able. He must be allowed to preach well, whose sermons strike his audience with forcible conviction. Of his life, those who thought it consistent with his doctrine, did not originally form false notions. He was at first what he endeavoured to make others, but the world broke down his resolution, and he in time ceased to exemplify his own instructions.

Let those who are tempted to his faults, tremble at his punishment; and those whom he impressed from the pulpit with religious sentiments, endeavour to confirm them, by considering the regret and self-abhorrence with which he reviewed in prison his deviations from rectitude.

Whatever assistance his anxiety might prompt him to solicit in forming the petitions, (which, however, he must be considered as confirming by his name,) the account of his past life, and of his dying sentiments, are the effusions of his own mind. Those who read them with the proper disposition, will not read in vain.

A few days before Dr. DODD suffered death, the following observations on the propriety of pardoning him, were written and sent to the public papers, by Dr. JOHNSON.

YESTERDAY was presented to the Secretary of State by Earl PERCY, a petition in favour of Dr. Dodd, signed by twenty-three thousand hands. On this occasion it is natural to consider,

That

That in all countries[?] penal laws have been relaxed as particular reasons have emerged.

That a life eminently beneficent, a single action eminently good, or even the power of being useful to the public, have been sufficient to protect the life of a delinquent.

That no arbiter of life and death has ever been censured for granting the life of a criminal to honest and powerful solicitation.

That the man for whom a nation petitions must be presumed to have merit uncommon in kind or in degree; for however the mode of collecting subscriptions, or the right of judgment exercised by the subscribers, may be open to dispute, it is at least plain that something is done for this man, that was never done for any other; and government, which must proceed upon general views, may rationally conclude that this man is something better than other offenders have been, or has done something more than others have done.

That though the people cannot judge of the administration of justice so well as their governors, yet their voice has always been regarded.

That this is a case in which the petitioners determine against their own interest; those for whose protection the law was made, entreat its relaxation, and our governors cannot be charged with the consequences which the people bring upon themselves.

That as this is a case without example, it will probably be without consequences; and many ages will elapse before such a crime is again committed by such a man.

That

That though life be spared, justice may be satisfied with ruin, imprisonment, exile, infamy, and penury:

That if the people now commit an error, their error is on the part of mercy; and that perhaps history cannot shew a time in which the life of a criminal, guilty of nothing above fraud, was refused to the cry of nations, to the joint supplication of three and twenty thousand petitioners.

DECLARATION left by DR. D O D D, with the ORDINARY of NEWGATE, previous to his Execution.

" TO the words of dying men regard has always
" been paid. I am brought hither to suffer death for
" an act of fraud, of which I confess myself guilty with
" shame, such as my former state of life naturally pro-
" duces, and I hope with such sorrow as He, to whom
" the heart is known, will not disregard. I repent that
" I have violated the laws by which peace and confidence
" are established among men; I repent that I have at-
" tempted to injure my fellow-creatures; and I repent
" that I have brought disgrace upon my order, and dis-
" credit upon religion: but my offences against God
" are without name or number, and can admit only of
" general confession and general repentance.—Grant,
" Almighty God, for the sake of Jesus Christ, that my
" repentance, however late, however imperfect, may
" not be in vain.

" The

“ The little good that now remains in my power, is
 “ to warn others against those temptations by which I
 “ have been seduced. I have always sinned against con-
 “ viction; my principles have never been shaken; I
 “ have always considered the Christian religion as a re-
 “ velation from God, and its divine Author as the Sa-
 “ viour of the world; but the laws of God, though ne-
 “ ver disowned by me, have often been forgotten. I
 “ was led astray from religious strictness by the delusion
 “ of shew and the delights of voluptuousness. I never
 “ knew or attended to the calls of frugality, or the need-
 “ ful minuteness of painful oeconomy. Vanity and plea-
 “ sure, into which I plunged, required expence dispro-
 “ portionate to my income; expence brought distress
 “ upon me, and distress, importunate distress, urged me
 “ to temporary fraud.

“ For this fraud I am to die; and I die declaring in
 “ the most solemn manner, that, however I have devi-
 “ ated from my own precepts, I have taught others, to
 “ the best of my knowledge, and with all sincerity, the
 “ true way to eternal happiness. My life, for some few
 “ unhappy years past, has been dreadfully erroneous;
 “ but my ministry has been always sincere. I have con-
 “ stantly believed, and I now leave the world solemnly
 “ avowing my conviction, that there is no other name
 “ under Heaven by which we can be saved, but only
 “ the name of the Lord Jesus; and I entreat all who
 “ are here to join with me in my last petition, that, for
 “ the sake of that Lord Jesus Christ, my sins may be
 “ forgiven, and my soul received into his everlasting
 “ kingdom.

June 27, 1777.

“ WILLIAM DODD.”

L I F E

OF THE

EARL OF ROSCOMMON.

DILLON [*Wentworth*,] earl of *Roscommon*, an eminent poet, was born in * *Ireland*, in the lieutenancy of the earl of *Strafford* †, who was his god-father, and named him by his own surname. He passed some of his first years in his native country, till the earl of *Strafford*, imagining when the rebellion first broke out, that his father, who had been converted by archbishop *Usher* to the Protestant religion, would be exposed to great danger, and be unable to protect his family,

* Though he was born in *Ireland*, yet as part of his life was spent in *England*, as he was distinguished by honours and employments at the *English* court, and is known or valued by posterity only as an *English* poet, our collections of *English* lives must be considered as imperfect, none of them having an account of him. Though every country imagines itself intitled to the reputation of those who happened to be born in it, this claim may be sometimes not unreasonably disputed; for that nation has at least as good a right to the honours paid to literary merit, which has given masters to him who obtains them, as that which has given parents.

† *Fenton's* notes on *Waller*.

sent

sent for his god-son, and placed him at his own seat in *Yorkshire*, under the tuition of Dr. *Hall*, afterwards bishop of *Norwich* †. When the earl of *Strafford* was prosecuted, he went to *Caen* in *Normandy*, by the advice of bishop *Usher*, to continue his studies under *Bochart* ‡, where

† “ By him he was instructed in *Latin*; and without learning the common rules of grammar, which he could never retain in his memory, he attained to write in that language with classical elegance and propriety; and with so much ease, that he chose it to correspond with those friends, who had learning sufficient to support the commerce.” *Fenton*.

‡ “ The lord *Roscommon* being a boy of ten years of age, at *Caen* in *Normandy*, one day was, as it were, madly extravagant in playing, leaping, getting over the table, boards, &c. He was wont to be sober enough; they said, God grant this bodes no ill luck to him. In the heat of this extravagant fit, he cries out, *My father is dead*. A fortnight after, news came from *Ireland*, that his father was dead. This account I had from Mr. *Knolles*, who was his governor, and then with him, since secretary to the earl of *Stafford*; and I have heard his lordship’s relations confirm the same.” *Aubrey’s Miscellany*.

The present age is very little inclined to favour any accounts of this kind, nor will the name of *Aubrey* much recommend it to credit; it ought not, however, to be omitted, because better evidence of a fact cannot easily be found, than is here offered, and it must be by preserving such relations that we may at least judge how much they are to be regarded. If we stay to examine this account, we shall find difficulties on both sides; here is a relation of a fact given by a man who had no interest to deceive, and who could not be deceived himself; and here is, on the other hand, a miracle which produces no effect; the order of nature is interrupted to discover not a future, but only a distant event, the knowledge of which is of no use to him to whom it is revealed. Between these difficulties, what way shall be found? Is reason or testimony to be rejected?

where he is said to have had an extraordinary impulse on his father's death. Some * years after he travelled to *Rome*, and returned to *England* upon the restoration of king *Charles*, by whom he was made captain of the band of pensioners, an honour which tempted him to some extravagances †. A dispute about part of his estate obliging him to return to *Ireland*, he resigned this post, and upon his arrival at *Dublin*, was made captain of the guards by the duke of *Ormond*, but he generously resigned his commission to a gentleman, who saved his life when he was attacked by ruffians †. Having finished his

ed? I believe what *Osborne* says of an appearance of sanctity, may be applied to such impulses or anticipations as this: *Do not wholly fight them, because they may be true; but do not easily trust them, because they may be false*

* " After some years he travelled to *Rome*, where he grew familiar with the most valuable remains of antiquity; applying himself particularly to the knowledge of medals, which he gained in perfection: and spoke *Italian* with so much grace and fluency, that he was frequently mistaken there for a native."

† " In the gaieties of that age, he was tempted to indulge a violent passion for gaming; by which he frequently hazarded his life in duels, and exceeded the bounds of a moderate fortune." *Fenton*. This was the fate of many other men, whose genius was of no other advantage to them, than that it recommended them to employments, or to distinction by which the temptations to vice were multiplied, and their parts became soon of no other use than that of enabling them to succeed in wickedness.

† " He was at *Dublin* as much as ever distempered with the same fatal affection for play, which engaged him in one adventure that well deserves to be related, As he returned to his lodgings from a gaming table, he was attacked in the dark by three ruffians, who were employed to assassinate him. The earl defended

" him-

416 LIFE OF THE EARL OF ROSCOMMON.

his affairs he returned to *London*, was made master of the horse to the duchess of *York*, and married the lady *Frances*, eldest daughter of the earl of *Burlington*, and widow of colonel *Courtney*. Here he formed a design of || instituting a society for the refinement of the *Eng-
lish*

“ himself with so much resolution, that he dispatched one of the
“ aggressors ; whilst a gentleman, accidentally passing that way,
“ interposed, and disarmed another ; the third secured himself by
“ flight. This generous assistant was a disbanded officer of a good
“ family, and fair reputation ; who, by what we call the partiality
“ of fortune, to avoid censuring the iniquities of the times,
“ wanted even a plain suit of cloaths to make a decent appearance
“ at the castle. But his lordship, on this occasion, presenting him
“ to the duke of *Ormond*, with great importunity prevailed with
“ his grace, that he might resign his post of captain of the guards
“ to his friend ; which for about three years the gentleman enjoyed,
“ and, upon his death, the duke returned the commission to
“ his generous benefactor.” *Fenton*.

|| “ He formed a design of instituting a society for the refinement
“ of the *English* language.—About this time, in imitation of
“ those learned and polite assemblies, with which he had been acquainted
“ abroad, particularly, one at *Caen* (in which his tutor *Bochartus*
“ died suddenly while he was delivering an oration) he began to form
“ a society for the refining and fixing the standard of our language.
“ In this design, his great friend, *Mr. Dryden*, was a principal assistant :
“ a design, of which it is much easier to conceive an agreeable idea,
“ than any rational hope ever to see it brought to perfection.” *Fenton*.

This design was again set on foot, under the ministry of the earl of *Oxford*, and was again defeated by a conflict of parties, and the necessity of attending only to political disquisitions, of defending the conduct of the administration, and forming parties in the parliament. Since that time it has never been mentioned, either because it has been hitherto a sufficient objection, that it was one of
the

lish language, but upon the commotions which were produced by king James's endeavours to introduce alterations in religion, he resolved to retire to *Rome*, alledging that *it was best to sit next to the chimney when the chamber smoked*. This journey was hindered by the gout, of which he was so impatient, that he admitted a repellant application from a *French* empiric, by which his distemper was driven up into his bowels *, and an end put to his life in 1684. His character as a writer is eminent † :
his

the designs of the earl of *Oxford*, the detestable earl of *Oxford*, by whom *Godolphin* was defeated, or because the statesmen who succeeded him have not had more leisure for literary schemes. See a letter written by Dr. Swift to the Lord Treasurer.

* "The moment in which he expired, he cried out with a voice that expressed the most intense fervour of devotion,

"My God, my father, and my friend,

"Do not forsake me at my end.

"two lines of his own version of the hymn *Dies iræ, Dies illa*." Fenton.

† Mr. Fenton has, in his notes upon Waller, given Roscommon a character too general to be critically just. "In his writings, says he, we view the image of a mind, which was naturally serious and solid; richly furnished, and adorned with all the ornaments of art, and science; and those ornaments unaffectedly disposed in the most regular and elegant order. His imagination might have, probably, been more fruitful and sprightly, if his judgment had been less severe: but that severity (delivered in a masculine, clear, succinct stile) contributed to make him so eminent in the didactical manner, that no man with justice can affirm he was ever equalled by any of our nation, without confessing at the same time that he is inferior to none. In some other kinds of writing his genius seems to have wanted fire to attain the point of perfection; but who can attain it?" From this account of the riches of his mind, who would not imagine that they had
E e been

his works are, * *An Essay on translated Verse*, a translation of the *Art of Poetry*, and some little poems, and translations.

been displayed in large volumes, and numerous performances? Who would not, after the perusal of this character, be surprised to find, that all the proofs of this genius, and knowledge, and judgment, are not sufficient to form a single book, or to appear otherwise than in conjunction with the works of some other writer of the same petty size? But thus it is that characters are written, we know somewhat, and we imagine the rest. The observation *that his imagination would probably have been more fruitful and sprightly, if his judgment had been less severe*, may be answered, by a remarker somewhat inclined to cavil, by a contrary supposition, *that his judgment would probably have been less severe, if his imagination had been more fruitful*. It is ridiculous to oppose judgment and imagination; for it does not appear that men have necessarily less of one as they have more of the other.

We must allow of *Roscommon*, what *Fenton* has not mentioned, so distinctly as he ought, and, what is yet very much to his honour, that he is, perhaps, the only correct writer in verse before *Addison*; and that if there are not so many or so great beauties in his composition, as in those of some contemporaries, there are at least fewer faults. Nor is this his highest praise; for *Mr. Pope* has celebrated him as the only moral writer of king *Charles's* reign.

*Unhappy Dryden!—in all Charles's days
Roscommon only boasts unspotted lays.*

* “ It was my lord *Roscommon's* *Essay on translated Verse*, says
“ *Dryden*, which made me uneasy, till I tried whether or no I was
“ capable of following his rules, and of reducing the speculation
“ into practice. For many a fair precept in poetry is like a seem-
“ ing demonstration in mathematics; very specious in the diagram,
“ but failing in the mechanic operation, I think, I have gene-
“ rally observed his instructions; I am sure my reason is suffici-
“ ently convinced both of their truth and usefulness; which, in
“ other words, is to confess no less a vanity than to pretend that
“ I have, at least in some places, made examples to his rules.”

This

This declaration of *Dryden*, will, I am afraid, be found little more than one of those cursory civilities, which one author pays to another; for when the sum of lord *Roscommon's* precepts is collected, it will not be easy to discover, how they can qualify their reader for a better performance of translation, than might have been attained by his own reflexions. They are, however, here laid down, and disentangled from the ornaments with which they are embellished, and the digressions with which they are diversified.

'Tis true, composing is the nobler part,

But *good translation* is no easy art,
For tho' materials have long since been found,
Yet both your fancy, and your hands are bound;
And by improving what was writ before,
Invention labours less, but judgment, more.—

Each poet with a different talent writes,
One praises, one instructs, another bites.
Horace did ne'er aspire to *Epic* bays,
Nor lofty *Maro* stoop to *Lyric* lays,
Examine how your humour is inclin'd,
And which the ruling passion of your mind;
Then, seek a poet who your way does bend,
And chuse an author, as you chuse a friend.
United by this sympathetic bond,
You grow familiar, intimate, and fond,
Your thoughts, your words, your styles, your souls agree,
No longer his interpreter; but he.—

Take then a subject, proper to expound;
But moral, great, and worth a poet's voice,
For men of sense despise a trivial choice:
And such applause it must expect to meet,
As wou'd some painter, busy in a street,
To copy bulls and bears, and ev'ry sign
That calls the staring fots to nasty wine.—

Take pains the genuine meaning to explore;
There sweat, there strain, tug the laborious oar:
Search ev'ry comment that your care can find,
Some here, some there, may hit the poet's mind;
Yet, be not blindly guided by the throng;
The multitude is always in the wrong.

When things appear unnatural or hard,
 Consult your author, with himself compar'd.
 Who knows what blessings *Phæbus* may bestow,
 And future ages to your labour owe?
 Such secrets are not easily found out,
 But once discover'd, leave no room for doubt.
 Truth stamps conviction in your ravish'd breast,
 And peace and joy attend the glorious guest.
 Yet if the shadow of a scruple stray,
 Sure the most beaten is the safest way.——

They who too faithfully on names insist,
 Rather create than dissipate the mist;
 And grow unjust by being over nice,
 (For superstitious virtue turns to vice).
 Let *Craffus*' ghost, and *Labienus*' tell
 How twice in *Parthian* plains their legions fell;
 Since *Rome* hath been so jealous of her fame,
 That few know *Pacorus* or *Moneses*' name.——

'And 'tis much safer to leave out than add.
 Abstruse and mystick tho'ts you must express
 With painful care, but seeming easiness;
 For truth shines brightest thro' the plainest dress.
 Your author always will the best advise,
 Fall when he falls, and when he rises, rise.

He that can abstract his mind from the elegance of the poetry, and confine it to the sense of the precepts, will find no other direction, than that the author should be suitable to the translator's genius; that he should be such as may deserve a translation; that he who intends to translate him, should endeavour to understand him; that perspicuity should be studied, and unusual or uncouth names sparingly inserted, and that the stile of the original should be copied in its elevation and depression. These are the rules which are celebrated as so definite and so important, and for the delivery of which to mankind, so much honour has been paid. *Roscommon* has, indeed, deserved his honours, had they been given with discernment, and bestowed not on the rules themselves, but the art with which they are introduced, and the decorations with which they are adorned.

M E M O I R S

OF THE LATE

Dr. BERKELEY, Bishop of CLOYNE.

GEORGE BERKELEY was the son of a clergyman in *Ireland*, of a small living, but at the same time remarkable for his learning and piety; he therefore gave his son the best education his circumstances would admit of; and, when fitted for the university, taxed his little fortune, in order to send him to Trinity college, *Dublin*.

Here he soon began to be looked upon as the greatest genius, or the greatest dunce, in the whole university; those who were but slightly acquainted with him, took him for a fool; but those who shared his most intimate friendship, looked upon him as a prodigy of learning and good-nature. Whenever he appeared abroad, which was but seldom, he was surrounded by a crowd of the idle or the facetious, who followed him, not to be improved, but to laugh. Of this he frequently complained, but there was no redress; the more he fretted, he became only the more ridiculous. An action of his, however, soon made him more truly ridiculous than before: curiosity leading him one day to see an execution, he returned home pensive and melancholy, and could not forbear reflecting on what he had seen. He desired to know what were the pains and symptoms a malefactor felt upon such an occasion, and communicated to his

chum the cause of his strange curiosity; in short, he resolved to tuck himself up for a trial; at the same time desiring his companion to take him down at a signal agreed upon.

The companion, whose name was *Contarine*, was to try the same experiment himself immediately after. *Berkeley* was accordingly tied up to the ceiling, and the chair taken from under his feet; but soon losing the use of his senses, his companion, it seems, waited a little too long for the signal agreed upon, and our enquirer had like to have been hanged in good earnest; for as soon as he was taken down, he fell, senseless and motionless, upon the floor. After some trouble, however, he was brought to himself; and observing his band, "Bless my heart, *Contarine*, says he, you have quite rumpled my band." When it came to *Contarine's* turn to go up, he quickly evaded the proposal; the other's danger had quite abated his curiosity.

Still, however, *Berkeley* proceeded in his studies with unabated ardour. A fellowship in that college is attained by superior learning only; the candidates are examined in the most public manner, in an amphitheatre erected for that purpose, and great numbers of the nobility and gentry are present upon the occasion. This examination he passed with the utmost applause, and was made a fellow, the only reward of learning that kingdom has to bestow.

Metaphysical studies are generally the amusement of the indolent and the inquisitive; his business as a fellow, allowed him sufficient leisure, and his genius prompted him to scrutinize into every abstruse subject. He soon, therefore,

therefore, was regarded as one of the best metaphysicians in Europe; his logic was looked upon rather as the work of a man skilled in metaphysics, than in the dialect of the schools; his treatise upon matter, was also thought to be the most ingenious paradox that ever amused learned leisure; and many were the answers made to it by the literati of *Europe*.

His fame as a scholar, but more his conversation as a man of wit and good-nature, soon procured him the friendship and esteem of every person of fortune and understanding; among the rest, *Swift*, that lover, yet derider, of human nature, became one of the most intimate; and it was by his recommendation that he was introduced to the earl of *Peterborough*, who made him his chaplain, and took him, as his companion, on a tour through *Europe*.

Some time after his return, he was promoted to a deanery, in which situation he wrote his *Minute Philosopher*, one of the most elegant and genteel defences of that religion which he was born to vindicate, both by his virtues and his ingenuity. It was at this time also, that he attempted to establish an university for our *American* colonies, in *Bermudas*, one of the Summer islands. Doctor *Depusch*, an excellent musician, and some others of great abilities, were engaged in this design, and actually embarked in order to put it in execution; but the ship being cast away, *Berkeley* was left to contrive something else to the advantage of his country.

He interested himself deeply in a scheme for improving the *English* language, by a society of wits and men

of genius, established for that purpose, in imitation of the academy of *France*; in this design *Swift*, *Bolingbroke*, and others, were united; but the whole dropt by the death of queen *Anne*, and the removal of *Harley* from the office of prime minister.

His friendship and connections, however, did not, as was the case with *Swift* and some others, prevent his promotion; he was made bishop of *Cloyne*; and sure no clergyman ever had juster pretensions to the mitre! No man was more assiduous or punctual in his duty, none exacted it more strictly from his inferior clergy, yet no bishop was ever more beloved by them. He spent his time with the utmost chearfulness, innocence, and humanity; the meanest peasant within ten miles of his seat, was familiar with him; those of them that wanted, shared his bounty; and those that did not, had his friendship and advice. The country which was desolate and unimproved, he took the utmost pains to improve, and attempted to set an example of the proper methods of agriculture to the farmer, as he had before of piety and benevolence to the whole kingdom.

Metaphysical studies were still his amusement, and the dispensations of charity he looked upon as his duty.—But the opinions of metaphysicians he, at last, began to contemn, and to doubt of the certainty, not only of every argument upon this subject, but even of the science. He therefore turned his thoughts to more beneficial studies, to politics and medicine, and gave instances in both, of what he could have done, had he made either his particular study.

In politics, a pamphlet published by him, entitled *The Querist*, is a fine instance of his skill, and was attended

tended with some beneficial circumstances to his native country.—His treatise on tar-water rendered him more popular than any of his preceding productions, at the same time that it was the most whimsical of them all. Here he pretends to prove, *a priori*, the effects of this, sometimes, valuable medicine; but then he extends them to every, and even opposite disorders.—The public were long undeceived before his lordship, who was the inventor, could be so. He had built an hospital at his own expence, near his gate, and to it all the poor were welcome; he attended them himself as physician; dosed them with tar-water, of the virtues of which he was entirely confident.—His intention in this particular cannot be sufficiently applauded, though, perhaps, the success might not have answered his expectations. Perhaps he carried his veneration for tar-water to an excess: he drank it in abundance himself, and attempted to mend the constitutions of his children by the same regimen: this, however, he could never effect; and, perhaps, his desire of improving their health, and their understanding, at which he laboured most assiduously, might have impaired both. But his faults, if we know of any, all proceeded from motives of humanity, benevolence, and good-nature.

He preserved the closest intimacy with the gentlemen of the neighbourhood; and while he cultivated the duties of his station, he was not averse to the innocent amusements of life: music he was particularly fond of, and always kept one or two exquisite performers to amuse his leisure hours.

His income he was entirely contented with; and when offered by the earl of *Chesterfield*, then lord lieutenant
of

of *Ireland*, a bishopric much more beneficial than that he possessed, he declined it, with these words, "I love the neighbours, and they love me; why then should I begin, in my old days, to form new connections, and tear myself from those friends whose kindness to me is the greatest happiness I enjoy?" acting, in this instance, like *Plutarch*, who being asked, why he resided in his native city, so obscure and so little? "I stay, said he, lest it should grow less." But at length, finding his health and constitution impaired beyond the power of medicine, even of his own tar-water, he removed, towards the end of the year 1752, to *Oxford*, an university he always loved, and at which he received a great part of his education, in hopes of receiving some benefit from the change of air. His principal motive, however, was that he might himself superintend the education of his son, whom he took along with him; and the prospect of enjoying two or three years among the literati of that famous seminary.

After a short passage, and a very pleasant journey, he arrived at that famous seat of learning, where he was visited by many of his former friends and admirers: but the certainty there was of speedily losing him, greatly damped the pleasure they would otherwise have had in his company. In a short time after his arrival he expired, on the 14th of January, 1753, greatly regretted, by the poor, whom he loved, and the learned, whom he had improved.

*A LETTER to a Member of Parliament in the Country, from his Friend in London, relative to the Case of Admiral BYNG.

Also an APPEAL to the People, containing the genuine and entire Letter of Admiral BYNG to the Secretary of the Admiralty: Observations on those Parts of it which were omitted by the Writers of the Gazette: And what might be the Reasons for such Omissions.

TO hear both parties, and to condemn no man without a trial, are the unalterable laws of justice. The man who lately commanded the *English* fleet in the *Mediterranean*; after having had his effigies burnt in a hundred places, and his name disgraced by innumerable lampoons; after having suffered all that the malice of wit or folly could inflict on his reputation, now stands forth, and demands an audience from those who have almost universally condemned him, but condemned him in his own opinion without justice, and certainly without any calm or candid examination.

In this extract we shall join the two apologies together, and give the argument which shall result from their concurrences.

The general position which both pamphlets endeavour to prove is, that Mr. *Byng* is stigmatised with infamy,

* Both this and the subsequent article were originally printed in the *Literary Magazine*. They are ascribed to Dr. *Johnson* on conjecture.

and

and pursued with clamours artfully excited to divert the public attention from the crimes and blunders of other men; and that while he is thus vehemently pursued for imaginary guilt, the real criminals are hoping to escape. To make this probable, a detail is given of the conduct of the admiral, and the practices of his enemies; and reasons, at least specious, are offered why the persecution has exceeded the crime.

4 The first offence which the admiral is supposed to have given the ministry was by the following letter,

Ramillies, in Gibraltar-Bay, May 4, 1756.

SIR,

5 “ This comes to you by express from hence by the
 “ way of *Madrid*, recommended to Sir *Benjamin Keene*,
 “ his Majesty’s minister at that place, to be forwarded
 “ with the utmost expedition.

“ I arrived here with the squadron under my com-
 “ mand, the 2d instant in the afternoon, after a tedious
 “ passage of twenty-seven days, occasioned by contrary
 “ winds and calms, and was extremely concerned to
 “ hear from capt. *Edgcumbe* (who I found here with
 “ the Princess *Louisa* and *Fortune* sloop) that he was
 “ obliged to retire from *Minorca*, the *French* having
 “ landed on that island by all accounts from thirteen to
 “ fifteen thousand men.

“ They sailed from *Toulon* the 10th of last month,
 “ with about one hundred and sixty, or two hundred
 “ sail of transports, escorted by thirteen sail of men of
 “ war; how many of the line I have not been able to
 “ learn with any certainty.

“ If

" If I had been so happy to have arrived at *Mabon*,
 " before the *French* had landed, I flatter myself, I should
 " have been able to have prevented their getting a
 " footing on that island; but as it has so unfortunately
 " turned out, I am firmly of opinion, from the great
 " force they have landed, and the quantity of provisions,
 " stores and ammunition of all kinds they brought with
 " them, that the throwing men into the castle will only
 " enable it to hold out but a little longer, and add to
 " the numbers that must fall into the enemies hands;
 " for the garrison in time will be obliged to surrender,
 " unless a sufficient number of men could be landed to
 " dislodge the *French*, or raise the siege: however, I am
 " determined to sail up to *Minorca* with the squadron,
 " where I shall be a better judge of the situation of
 " affairs there, and will give general *Blakeney* all the
 " assistance he shall require; though I am afraid all
 " communication will be cut off between us, as is the
 " opinion of the chief engineers of this garrison (who
 " have served in the island) and that of the other officers
 " of the artillery, who are acquainted with the situation
 " of the harbour; for if the enemy have erected batteries
 " on the two shores near the entrance of the harbour,
 " (an advantage scarce to be supposed they have ne-
 " glected) it will render it impossible for our boats to
 " have a passage to theallee port of the garrison.

" By the inclosed list, delivered to me by capt. *Edg-*
 " *cumbe*, their lordships will observe the strength of the
 " *French* ships in *Toulon*; and by the copy of a letter
 " from *Marseilles* to general *Blakeney*, which I herewith
 " transmit to you, their lordships will perceive the
 " equipment

“ equipment the *French* have made on this occasion.
 “ It is to be apprehended, when they have got all the
 “ ships they possibly can ready for service, they may
 “ think of turning their thoughts this way.

9 “ If I should fail in the relief of *Port-mahon*, I shall
 “ look upon the security of *Gibraltar* as my next object,
 “ and shall repair down here with the squadron.

10 “ The *Chesterfield*, *Portland* and *Dolphin* are on their
 “ passage from *Mahon* for this place. The *Phoenix* is
 “ gone to *Leghorn* by order of capt. *Edgcumbe* for letters
 “ and intelligence; and the *Experiment* is cruising off
 “ *Cape Pallas*, whom I expect in every hour.

“ By a letter from Mr. *Banks*, our consul at *Carta-*
 “ *gena*, to general *Fowke*, dated the 21st of *April*, it
 “ appears that twelve sail of *Spanish* men of war are
 “ ordered for *Cadiz* and *Ferrol*, which are expected at
 “ that port, but on what account he could not tell the
 “ governor.

“ We are employed in taking in wine and compleat-
 “ ing our water, with the utmost dispatch, and shall let
 “ no opportunity slip of sailing from hence.

“ Herewith I send you inclosed a copy of such papers
 “ as have been delivered me, which I thought necessary
 “ for their lordships inspection.

“ I am, SIR,

“ Your most humble servant,

“ J. B.”

Hon. J—n C—d, Esq;

14 This letter was carefully suppressed, it being not con-
 venient that the people should know that he already
 found

found his arrival too late and his force too weak, that his ships were foul or his stores short, or the works of Gibraltar neglected and ruinous. However, he was punished for this uncertain intelligence by an oraculous anticipation of cowardice, and a report diligently spread that he would not fight.

To prove that what he asserted of the superiority of the French to the English squadron is not the fiction of art or the double fight of cowardice, he gives the following table of their different strength.

The honourable Admiral BYNG's Squadron, when he engaged M. DE LA GALISSONNIERE's off Cape Mola, 20 May, 1756.

M. De la Galissonniere's Squadron, when he landed the Troops at Minorca, 18 April, and at the Engagement with Ad. Byng's Squadron, off Cape Mola, 20 May, 1756.

Ship's Names.	Guns.	Wt. of metal on the			men.
		low	mid	upp	
		dec.	dec.	dec.	
		lb.	lb.	lb.	
Ramilles	90	32	18	12	780
Calloden	74	32		18	600
Dockingham	68	32		18	535
Lancaster	66	32		18	520
Trident	64	24		12	500
Intrepid	64	32		18	480
Captain	64	24		12	480
Revenge	64	24		12	480
Kingston	60	24		9	400
Defiance	60	24		12	400
Princess Louisa	56	24		12	400
Portland	48	24		12	300
	778				5875
<i>Frigates.</i>					
Deptford	48				280
Chesterfield	40				250
Phoenix	22				160
Dolphin	22				160
Experiment	22				160
Total	932				6885

Ship's Names.	Guns.	wt of met on the		Number of		Total men on board each ship.
		low	upp	Sea-	Sol-	
		dec.	dec.	men.	diers.	
		lb.	lb.			
Foudroyant	84	52	24	700	250	950
La Couronne	74	42	24	650	150	800
Le Guerrier	74	42	24	650	150	800
Le Temeraire	74	42	24	650	150	800
Le Redoutable	74	42	24	650	150	800
L'Hipopothame	64	36	24	500	100	600
Le Fier	64	36	24	500	100	600
Le Triton	64	36	24	500	100	600
Le Lion	64	36	24	500	100	600
Le Contant	64	36	24	500	100	600
Le Sage	64	36	24	500	100	600
L'Orphée	64	36	24	500	100	600
	828			6800	1550	8350
<i>Frigates.</i>						
La Juno	46			300		300
La Roze	30			250		250
La Gracieuse	30			250		250
La Topaze	24			250		250
La Nymphe	24			200		200
Total	922			8050	1550	9600

“ In the first place, the number of ships was equal
 “ on each side ; from this then no advantage was to be
 “ drawn by one party above another. As the frigates
 “ on either side did not engage, notwithstanding the
 “ *French* exceeded the *English* greatly in number of men
 “ and weight of metal, I shall not attempt to derive
 “ from that circumstance any argument of the superi-
 “ ority of the *French* fleet to that of the *English*, but
 “ consider those ships which were drawn up in line of
 “ battle, only remarking the weakness of that objection
 “ to the conduct of the admiral, in leaving the *Deptford*
 “ out of the line ; when the same thing was done by
 “ Monsieur *La Gallissonniere* in not taking the *Juno* into
 “ his line ; the first being of forty-eight guns, and the
 “ latter of forty-six.

“ The number of ships being equal, the next con-
 “ sideration is the number of guns ; and in this article,
 “ according to this list, which was received from a person
 “ the best enabled to give a just account, and the least
 “ to be suspected of doing the contrary, the *French* fleet
 “ exceeded the *English* by fifty cannon, the number of
 “ the first being eight hundred twenty-eight, and of the
 “ second seven hundred seventy-eight, which gives a
 “ majority of fifty on the side of the *French* ; but as it
 “ may be objected, that, according to other lists printed
 “ by authority, the *Hipopotbame* and *Fier* are given as
 “ fifty gun ships only, we will suppose that to be the
 “ right, and then the number of *French* cannon exceeds
 “ the *English* by twenty-two guns only.

“ The next article which comes in consideration is the
 “ weight of metal ; and in this place it seems necessary

“ to

" to remark, that it is the usual custom to denominate
 " the weight of metal by the guns which are on the
 " whole decks only; hence it happens, though three
 " sizes are only mentioned in the list of the *Ramillies*,
 " and two in that of the *Foudroyant*, that there were ten
 " of the number on board the *Ramillies* on the quarter
 " deck and forecastle, which carried six pounds only,
 " and on board the *Foudroyant* twenty-four, which placed
 " in the same parts mentioned in the *Ramillies*, carried
 " only shot of twelve pounds.

" The *Foudroyant* and *Ramillies* then may be thus con-
 " sidered with respect to the cannon which each carried.

<i>Foudroyant.</i>		<i>Ramillies.</i>	
Guns.	Weight of shot.	Guns.	Weight of shot.
30	of 52 pounds.	26	of 52 pounds.
30	24	26	18
24	12	28	12
—	—	10	6
84	2268 lb. each charge.	—	—
—	—	90	1696 lb. each charge.
—	—	—	—

" Deducting then the lesser from the greater number,
 " the weight of the shot fired by the *Foudroyant* in a
 " discharge of all the cannon, exceeds that of the *Ra-*
 " *millies* by five hundred seventy-two pounds, almost a
 " third of the whole quantity. The number of men on
 " board the *English* ship, was seven hundred and thirty;
 " on board the *French*, nine hundred and fifty; which
 " gives a majority of two hundred and twenty men to
 " the *French* ship. Now, on a medium, we may allow

F f

" eight

“ eight men to a gun on board the *Foudroyant*, as her
 “ metal is heavier, and six to a gun on board the *Ra-*
 “ *millies*; this will make six hundred seventy-two at the
 “ great guns, and two hundred and seventy-eight at the
 “ small arms, on board the *French* ship; and five hun-
 “ dred and forty at the great guns, and one hundred
 “ and ninety at the small arms, on board the *Ramillies*,
 “ which gives a majority of eighty-eight small arms
 “ men to the *Foudroyant*, almost a third superior to the
 “ *Ramillies*. In this account we have computed the
 “ officers and others employed in various duties, amongst
 “ the small arms; and as each ship has probably an
 “ equal number engaged in these services, whatever is
 “ allowed, being allowed alike on board each ship, it
 “ leaves the same proportion amongst the small arms
 “ men; this then effects nothing on the validity of the
 “ reasoning.

21 “ Let me then imagine them all engaged on board
 “ each ship, the *Foudroyant* discharging from the small
 “ arms, two hundred and seventy-eight balls, and the
 “ *Ramillies* one hundred and ninety, the *French* ship's
 “ fire in this respect exceeds the *English* by eighty-eight
 “ balls in each general volley; let me suppose also, that
 “ a number of cannon equal to the whole sum in each
 “ ship, be discharged in a minute, which seems no im-
 “ probable supposition, since cannon are fired twelve
 “ times in a minute in land service; the excess of weight
 “ of metal in the *Foudroyant*, compared with that fired
 “ by the *Ramillies* in one hour, will be thirty-four thou-
 “ sand three hundred and twenty pounds, a most amaz-
 “ ing superiority. If we allow at the same time, four

" discharges of the small arms in each minute, then the
 " number of small shot fired from the *Foudroyant*, more
 " than from the *Ramillies* in one hour, will be twenty-
 " one thousand one hundred and twenty, which increases
 " the chance of the men being killed on the upper decks
 " on board the *English* ship equal to that number. The
 " advantage drawn from the small arms, is then exactly
 " in proportion to the number in which one ship exceeds
 " another, and the advantage of the heavier shot dis-
 " charged from the cannon, is as the diameter of each
 " exceeds the other; let me suppose a thirty-two pound
 " ball to be ten inches in diameter, such a shot can pass
 " between two objects eleven inches distant from each
 " other, and touch neither of them; whereas, allowing
 " a ball of fifty-two pounds, to be twelve inches diame-
 " ter, and to pass in the same direction with the former,
 " this last ball may destroy, but must inevitably wound
 " both objects: again, if you suppose a ball of ten inches
 " diameter, to pass within half an inch of any single
 " object, that of twelve passing in the same line by the
 " increased diameter, must destroy or injure it: in like
 " manner as the diameter in shot increases, the holes
 " which are made in the sides will be increased also;
 " thus two men may be killed by the biggest ball, and
 " not touched by the lesser; two ropes cut by the biggest,
 " and not touched by the lesser; and masts and yards
 " carried away by the increased diameter of the heavy
 " ball, which will be untouched or less affected by the
 " lighter; besides this, holes between wind and water,
 " which are made by heavy balls, being proportioned to
 " the diameter also, the danger of sinking is increased,

“ as the water which flows through the great aperture,
 “ is more than that through the lesser ; every broadside
 “ then fired from the *Foudroyant*, carries a probability
 “ of doing more mischief than that from the *Ramillies*,
 “ as the diameters of all the balls taken together, fired
 “ from the *French* ship, exceeds that of the *English* ;
 “ and for this reason it is in a great measure, that the
 “ masts, yards, and rigging, are more damaged on board
 “ *English* ships in battle than on board *French*.

22 “ Hence in every view, except number of cannon,
 “ which are only six small guns of six pounds, the *Fou-*
 “ *droyant*, is superior to the *Ramillies*, almost as three to
 “ two, in this manner of computing the superiority,
 “ which appears to me to be just, if for three to two in
 “ force, we put three to two in ships, which amounts
 “ to the same thing, on which side ought a prudent
 “ man to expect the victory.

“ I do not, by this manner of computing each force,
 “ propose to reduce the different degrees in strength of
 “ each ship to a mathematical and demonstrative exact-
 “ ness, but only to show nearly, how much the superi-
 “ ority of the *French* ship was greater than that of the
 “ *English* ; as to the size of the ships, the *Foudroyant* is
 “ the largest.

“ It may be objected, probably, that the charge and
 “ discharge of a cannon, instead of taking up one mi-
 “ nute, may take up five or perhaps ten, and each man
 “ at the small arms employ a like time to charge and
 “ fire his fusée ; even then this will create no difference,
 “ the same time being allowed alike to each ship, the
 “ superiority of powers on board the *Foudroyant* to those

“ on board the *Ramillies*, will be still preserved the
 “ same; and the sole alteration arising from this is,
 “ that by less firings the superiority is not so often ex-
 “ erted, and the proportion of four to three still remain.

“ In this manner of comparing the different strengths
 “ of the two fleets, I have pitched upon the two ships
 “ which were the nearest a match for each other, and
 “ here the odds were as four to three. Between the
 “ *Couronne* and *Culloden*, it is still greater, and when
 “ you descend lower, and compare the seventy-four and
 “ sixty-four gun *French* ships, against the sixty-eight,
 “ sixty-six, sixty-four, and sixty gun ships of *England*,
 “ it is three to two; so that the proportion of four to
 “ three, is a very inferior allowance for the superiority
 “ of the *French* fleet over the *English* as they met in the
 “ *Mediterranean*.

“ Hence it evidently appears, that if this third part
 “ of superiority was taken from the twelve *French* ships,
 “ leaving each an equal to the *English*, there would re-
 “ main a sufficient force to equip four ships more, then
 “ the number would be sixteen *French* ships to twelve
 “ *English*, a superiority not to be attacked by a prudent
 “ man.”

Mr. *Byng*'s next complaint is of the injury done to
 his character by mutilations of his letter published in
 the *Gazette*, and it is now given to the public complete;
 that the public may freely examine it.

The parts printed in comma's, are the parts omitted
 in the *Gazette*.

Ramillies, off Minorca, 25 May, 1756.

S I R,

29
I HAVE the pleasure to desire you will acquaint their lordships, that having sailed from *Gibraltar* the 8th, I got off *Mahon* the 19th, having been joined by his majesty's ship *Phoenix*, off *Majorca*, two days before, " by whom I had confirmed the intelligence I " received at *Gibraltar*, of the strength of the *French* " fleet, and of their being off *Mahon*. His majesty's " colours were still flying at the castle of *St. Philip's*, " and I could perceive several bomb batteries playing " upon it from different parts; *French* colours we saw " flying on the west part of *St. Philip's*. I dispatched " the *Phoenix*, *Chesterfield*, and *Dolphin* a-head, to recon- " noitre the harbour's mouth, and captain *Hervey*, to " endeavour to land a letter for general *Blakeney*, to let " him know the fleet was here to his assistance, though " every one was of opinion, we could be of no use to " him, as by all accounts no place was secured for co- " vering a landing, could we have spared any people. " The *Phoenix* was also to make the private signal be- " tween captain *Hervey* and captain *Scrope*, as this latter " would undoubtedly come off, if it were practicable, " having kept the *Dolphin's* barge with him; but the " enemy's fleet appearing to the south-east, and the " wind at the same time coming strong off the land, " obliged me to call those ships in, before they could " get quite so near the entrance of the harbour, as to " make sure what batteries or guns might be placed to " prevent our having any communication with the " castle." Falling little wind, it was five before I could
form

form my line, or distinguish any of the enemy's motions, and not at all to judge of their force more than by their numbers, which were seventeen, and thirteen appeared large. They at first stood towards us in a regular line, tacked about seven, which I judged was to endeavour to take the wind of us in the night; so that being late, I tacked, in order to keep the weather-gage of them, as well as to make sure of the land wind, in the morning, being very hazy and not above five leagues off cape *Mola*. We tacked off towards the enemy at eleven; and at day-light had no sight of them. But two tartans with the *French* private signal being close in with the rear of our fleet, I sent the *Princess Louisa* to chase one, and made the signal for the rear-admiral, who was nearest the other, to send ships to chase her; the *Princess Louisa*, *Defiance*, and *Captain*, became at a great distance, but the *Defiance* took her's, which had two captains, two lieutenants, and one hundred and two private soldiers, who were sent out the day before with six hundred men or board tartans to reinforce the *French* fleet, on our then appearing off the place. The *Phoenix*, on captain *Hervey's* offer, prepared to serve as a fire-ship, but without damaging her as a frigate, till the signal was made to prime, when she was then to scuttle her decks, every thing else being prepared, as the time and place allowed of. The enemy now began to appear from the mast head; I called in the cruisers, and when they had joined me, I tacked towards the enemy, and formed the line a-head. I found the *French* were preparing theirs to leeward, having unsuccessfully endeavoured to weather me; they were twelve large ships of

the line, and five frigates. As soon as I judged the rear of our fleet to be the length of their van, we tacked all together, and immediately made the signal for the ships that led, to lead large, and for the *Deptford* to quit the line, that ours might become equal in number with theirs. At two I made the signal to engage, as I found it was the surest method of ordering every ship to close down on the one that fell to their lot. And here I must express my great satisfaction at the very gallant manner in which the rear-admiral set the van the example, by instantly bearing down on the ships he was to engage with his second, and who occasioned one of the *French* ships to begin the engagement, which they did, by raking ours as they went down; I bore down on the ship that lay opposite me, and began to engage him, after having received the fire for some time in going down. The *Intrepid* "unfortunately" (in the very beginning) had his fore-top-mast shot away, and as that hung on his fore-sail and backed it, he had no command of his ship, his fore-tack and all his braces being cut at the same time, so that he drove on the next ship to him, and obliged that, and the ships a-head of me, to throw all aback; this obliged me to do so also for some minutes to avoid their falling on board me, though not before we had drove our adversary out of the line, who put before the wind, and had several shot fired at him from his own admiral. This not only caused the enemy's centre to be unattacked, but left the rear-admiral's division rather uncovered for some little time. I sent and called to the ships a-head of me to make sail on, and go down on the enemy, and ordered the *Chesterfield*

terfield to lay by the *Intrepid*, and the *Deptford* to supply the *Intrepid*'s place. I found the enemy edged away constantly, and as they went three feet to our one, they would never permit our closing with them, but took the advantage of destroying our rigging; for though I closed the rear-admiral fast, I found I could not again close the enemy, whose van were fairly drove from their line; but their admiral was joining them by bearing away. By this time it was past six, and the enemy's van and ours were at too great a distance to engage; I perceived some of their ships stretching to the northward, and I imagined they were going to form a new line; I made the signal for the headmost ships to tack, and those that led before with larboard tacks, to lead with the starboard, that I might by the first keep, (if possible) the wind of the enemy, and by the second, be between the rear-admiral's division and the enemy, as his had suffered most, as also to cover the *Intrepid*, which I perceived to be in a very bad condition, and whose loss would very greatly give the balance against us, if they had attacked us the next morning as I expected. I brought-to about eight that night to join the *Intrepid*, and to refit our ships as fast as possible, and continued so all night. The next morning we saw nothing of the enemy, though we were still lying to; *Mabon* was N. N. W. about ten or eleven leagues. I sent cruisers out to look for the *Intrepid* and *Chesterfield*, who joined me the next day; and having, from a state and condition of the squadron brought me in, found that the *Captain*, *Intrepid*, and *Defiance*, (which latter has lost her captain) were much damaged in their masts, " so that they were
" endan-

“ endangered of not being able to secure their masts
 “ properly at sea ; and also, that the squadron in gene-
 “ ral were very sickly, many killed and wounded, and
 “ no where to put a third of their number, if I made an
 “ hospital even of the forty gun ship, which was not easy
 “ at sea,” I thought it proper in this situation, to call a
 council of war before I went again to look for the enemy.
 I desired the attendance of general *Stuart*, lord *Effingham*,
 and lord *Robert Bertie*, and colonel *Cornwallis*, that I might
 collect their opinions upon the present situation “ of *Minorca*
 “ and *Gibraltar*, and make sure of protecting the latter,
 “ since it was found impracticable to either succour or
 “ relieve the former with the force we had ; for though
 “ we may justly claim the victory, yet we are much
 “ inferior to the weight of their ships, though the num-
 “ bers are equal, and they have the advantage of send-
 “ ing to *Minorca* their wounded, and getting reinforce-
 “ ments of seamen from their transports, and soldiers
 “ from their camp ; all which, undoubtedly has been
 “ done in this time that we have been laying to to refit,
 “ and often in sight of *Minorca* ; and their ships have
 “ more than once appeared in a line from our mast-heads.
 “ I send their lordships the resolution of the council of
 “ war,” in which there was not the least contention or
 doubt arose. “ I hope indeed we shall find stores to
 “ refit us at *Gibraltar*, and if I have any reinforcement,
 “ will not lose a moment’s time to seek the enemy
 “ again, and once more give them battle, though they
 “ have a great advantage in being clean ships, that go
 “ three feet to our one, and therefore have the choice
 “ how they will engage us, or if they will at all, and
 “ will

" will never let us close them, as their sole view is the
 " disabling our ships, in which they have but too well
 " succeeded, though we obliged them to bear up." I
 do not send their lordships the particulars of our losses
 and damages by this, as it would take me much time,
 and that I am willing none should be lost in letting them
 know an event of such consequence. " I cannot help
 " urging their lordships for a reinforcement, if none are
 " yet failed, on their knowledge of the enemy's strength
 " in these seas, and which, by very good intelligence,
 " will in a few days be strengthened by four more large
 " ships from *Toulon*, almost ready to sail, if not now
 " failed to join these." I dispatch this to Sir Benjamin
 Keene by way of Barcelona, and am making the best of
 my way to " cover" *Gibraltar*; from which place I pro-
 pose sending their lordships a more particular account.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant, J. B.
 Hon. *John Cleveland*, Esq.

P. S. I must desire you will acquaint their lordships, 30
 that I have appointed captain *Hervey* to the command
 of the *Defiance*, in the room of captain *Andrews* slain in
 the action.

I have just sent the defects of the ships, as I have got
 it made out, whilst I was closing my letter."

The passages omitted are here specified, and why they
 were omitted it is now time to conjecture.

The first mutilation concealed an allusion made to
 his former letter from *Gibraltar*, which it was apparently
 the interest of the ministry to keep in darkness. It seems
 likewise intended by this omission to insinuate that *Byng*
 never came into sight of *Minorca*, and that he was
 caught

caught unexpectedly by the *French*. The words *could, we have spared any people*, would have discovered the weakness of the armament; and the opinion of the officers that the *landing place was covered*, would have shewn the folly of those who contrived the expedition, and sent out a fleet too weak to encounter the enemy at sea, and not expected that this should at the same time drive away an army intrenched on the land. Who sent out a weak fleet, when they might have made it stronger by adding the ships of which the crews were uselessly devouring their provisions at *Spithead*, and amused the nation with an attempt to relieve *Minorca*, while they sent no land forces, or none proportioned to the purpose, and sent them out at a time when they could not be landed.

34 The next omission was likewise equally unfair, and equally malignant, and appears designed partly to cast reproach on the admiral, and partly to hide the faults of the ministry. To conceal the fitness of *Byng's* retreat, they suppress the damage done to the ships; to conceal their own negligence, they omit the mention of the wounded, and the want of an hospital ship for their reception. Surely the men who sent out a fleet without provision for the wounded, had no design that there should ever be a battle, and meant only to deceive the nation by an expedition purposely contrived to be vain.

This is the first time that a fleet was fitted out for such an enterprize, without store-ships, fire-ships, hospital-ships, or tenders; and why this fleet was thus imperfectly furnished, what reason can be given, but that the relief of *Minorca* was never intended?

The

36
The intent of this omission being principally to fix upon *Byng* the reproach of returning without necessity, it may now be enquired whether it was proper to have hazarded a second engagement. No man was ever expected to fight without hope of victory, or without prospect of advantage proportionate to the danger of defeat. Hope of victory he could have none, the *French* fleet was at first superior, and was far more superior after the battle; prospect of advantage was now at an end, for he could not now relieve *St. Philip*, though *Galissonniere* had delivered up his ships without a shot, it was already invested by an adequate force, and though the siege might have been prolonged, it could not have been raised.

It is much harder to discover why *Galissonniere* suffered our shattered ships to escape. Was it by a secret convention with our ministry, that *Minorca* was given up on one side, and our defeated fleet spared on the other? What other reason can be given why the ministry, who knew the superiority of the *French* fleet early enough, did not order *Byng*, by dispatches sent over-land, to wait at *Gibraltar* for reinforcements? What can be alledged but that of this fleet, they had either covenant for the safety, or intended the loss?

The next mutilation suppresses the account of the enemy's superiority, such an account as surely cannot be contradicted. The *French* had an army from which the fleet was supplied with fresh men: *Byng* had more than a thousand sick without an hospital ship for their reception.

The next passage omitted describes another advantage enjoyed by the *French*, that their ships were clean,
to

to which it might have been added, to the honour of our ministers, that *their ships were better*. A clamour has been raised by the assertion, that they sailed *three feet to one*: a seaman's phrase never designed to be understood literally, nor ever interpreted literally before, by which nothing is implied but that they sailed faster, and had great advantage by superior celerity.

267 He *hoped* to find stores to *rest him* at Gibraltar, where in effect, from the state in which he had left it, and which was carefully concealed from the public, he had *little hopes* of finding them; yet this delay, which the ministers knew to be unavoidable, was imputed to him as a new crime.

“ The next paragraph which is omitted, is the urging the ad——y to a speedy reinforcement, if none was already sent, a request which he had before made; at the same time acquainting them with the increasing strength of the enemy at *Toulon*, by four large ships; which circumstance, though it tends not to justify the admiral's behaviour, gives a favourable idea of his zeal for success, and a contemptible one of those, who, presiding at the head of affairs, had been totally ignorant of what was preparing at *Toulon*, and negligent at best of what happened to *Minorca*: unless you may possibly by this time be apprehensive, that some other motives conduced to this behaviour in them.

“ The last paragraph has but one word omitted, which, instead of “ making the best of my way to *Gibraltar*,” is to *cover Gibraltar*; a very material alteration; the going to cover a place being very different from going to a place; the one signifying an
“ act

" act of prudence, and of a foldier; the other, in fuch
 " instances, of flight, and of a fugitive. Was not this
 " word premeditately left out, to prevent you from ask-
 " ing what danger *Gibraltar* was in, and to what part
 " of the letter this referred? Does it not seem to be the
 " present employment of the *Gazette* to misrepresent,
 " and of the writers or directors of it, to keep the peo-
 " ple of *England* as ignorant as possible of the real situ-
 " ation of any place, which may be designed to be given
 " up to your declared enemies, by those who are your
 " concealed, if men can be denominated concealed,
 " who are thus open in pursuing a nation's ruin?"

To the end of the letter were added lists of the two
 fleets, of which even our own list was false; our cannon
 were increased, and the *French* diminished. The admi-
 ral's account of the damage suffered by his fleet was
 omitted, and a list only given of the killed and wounded
 as if sent by him not only for his own, but for the *French*
 fleet.

Having thus deprived him of his reputation, they
 proceed to divest him of his command, and the follow-
 ing letter was sent.

" S I R,

" His majesty having received an account that the
 " squadron under your command, and that of the *French*
 " under the command of Monsieur *Galiffenniere*, came
 " to action off of the harbour of *Mabon*, the 20th of
 " last month, and that the *French* (though inferior to
 " you in force) kept before the harbour, and obliged
 " you to retreat; I am commanded by my lords com-
 " missioners

448 CASE OF ADMIRAL BYNG.

“ missioners of the admiralty, to send you herewith an
 “ extract of Monsieur *Galiffonniere*’s letter to his court,
 “ giving an account of the action, and to acquaint you,
 “ that his majesty is so much dissatisfied with your con-
 “ duct, that he has ordered their lordships to recal your-
 “ self and Mr. *West*, and to send out Sir *Edward Hawke*,
 “ and rear-admiral *Saunders*, to command the squadron.
 “ I am extremely sorry to be obliged to inform you
 “ of such a disagreeable event, being with great regard,
 “ S I R,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

* * *

Admiralty-Office, June 8, 1756.

47 To this he returned a letter which neither betrayed
 consciousness of guilt, dread of resentment, nor confu-
 sion of mind.

Gibraltar-Bay, July 4, 1756.

“ S I R,

“ By Sir *Edward Hawke* I have received their lord-
 “ ships orders, and your letter of the 8th of *June*, which
 “ I have immediately complied with, and have only
 “ to express my surprize at being so ignominiously dis-
 “ missed from my employment, in the fight of the fleet
 “ I had commanded, in fight of the garrison, and in
 “ fight of *Spain*, at such a time, in such a manner,
 “ and after such conduct, as I hope shall shortly appear
 “ to the whole world. It is not now for me to ex-
 “ postulate; I flatter myself that Mr. *West* and I shall
 “ make evident the injury done to our characters, which
 “ I know of nothing in the power of any being what-
 “ ever

" ever that can atone for ; so high an opinion I have of
 " that, which was ever unfulfilled before, and which I
 " hope to make appear has been most injuriously and
 " wrongfully attacked now, on the grounds of a false
 " gasconade of an open enemy to our king and country,
 " and which would have evidently appeared, had the
 " possible time been allowed for my own express's
 " arrival, in which there was nothing false, nothing
 " vaunting, nothing shameful, nor any thing which could
 " have prevented our receiving his Majesty's royal ap-
 " probation, for having, with a much inferior force,
 " fought, met, attacked, and beat the enemy : of this,
 " it is needless for me to say more at present, than that
 " I am sorry to find Mr. *West*, with the captains,
 " lieutenants, and officers of the ships we had our flags
 " on board of, are to be sufferers for what I alone, as
 " commander in chief, am answerable : but it is so
 " much of a piece with the whole unheard-of treatment
 " I have met with, that neither they, the fleet, or my-
 " self, can be more astonished at that particular than at
 " the whole.

I am, SIR,

" Your very humble Servant,

" J. B."

To the Hon. J—n C—d, Esq;

Let us now review this whole transaction.

" First, then, how came the *French* to form the idea
 " of taking *St. Philip's*, when the fleet of *England*, known
 " to be so superior, might have prevented the embarka-

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" tion ;

" tion; if not that, their descent on *Minorca*; if that
 " could not have been done, reinforced *St. Philip's*,
 " beat the *French* fleet, and taken the whole embarkation
 " prisoners. Is the duke of *Richlieu* so mad, that he
 " would have undertaken to command in an expedition
 " which had been preparing for five months, known to
 " all *Europe*, and open to be disconcerted in all the
 " above different manners? Would the directors of our
 " marine preparations, had they been in earnest to pre-
 " serve *St. Philip's*, have sent out an inferior squadron?
 " delayed it at *Spithead* during so many months? and
 " given the admiral absolute orders to expedite other
 " services, by not taking men from any ship fit for
 " service, to man his own squadron, but to wait the
 " coming of tenders with pressed men from *Liverpool*?
 " And before the arrival of more than two, he was
 " obliged to fail.

50 " Had the planners of the expedition been truly
 " animated with the interest of their country, why,
 " when all *England* and all *Europe* was exclaiming against
 " their delay, did they continually give out, that there
 " was no fleet preparing at *Toulon*? that the *French* had
 " no sailors nor military stores? Was it not to give the
 " air of relieving *St. Philip's* only that the *English* fleet
 " set sail a few days before the *French*?

" When the popular clamour now began to be very
 " loud, were not ten thousand stories invented to draw
 " off the public attention from the planners of the expe-
 " dition, and to throw it on him who commanded, and
 " who they concluded would miscarry? Was it not
 " owing to a design of ill success in them, that the fleet

" was

" was sent out so small, and that he was assured the
 " *French* armament could not possibly exceed seven
 " ships, and probably would not be more than five?
 " Was it not constantly asserted, that no fleet was ever
 " so well manned, equipped, and powerful, for the num-
 " ber, as this *English* fleet? And that the *French* con-
 " sisted of old ships not fit for service, ill-manned, and
 " worse provided; whereas one moment's thought would
 " have told them, that a fleet, however ill-furnished
 " with men, when it left *Toulon*, must be abundantly
 " provided with hands from two hundred transports,
 " which, after landing the troops, spare two thirds of
 " their crews: as to their ships being feeble or ill-fitted
 " out, the falshood of that assertion is now known. To
 " those spurious accounts of the different strength of the
 " two fleets, was it not constantly added, that Mr. *Byng*
 " could blow the *French* out of the water? With what
 " intent but to aggravate the miscarriage of the admi-
 " ral, by creating an opinion of his superior force, the
 " more effectually to inflame resentment against him,
 " when the ill news of his not prevailing should arrive?

" The citadel of *Mabon* being attacked, it now be-
 " came the common conversation amongst the planners
 " of the voyage, that the fortification could not hold
 " out a week, with a design to lessen the surprize of
 " its being taken; or if it was defended any considerable
 " time, to give an idea of its being well provided;
 " does it not therefore seem evident, from the fleet of
 " *England* being appointed so inferior, so long delayed
 " after it was ready, sent so late, without a soldier but
 " those who acted as marines, without an hospital-ship,

“ fire-ship, transports, or tenders; that no battle was
 “ intended to be fought, nor *St. Philip's* relieved? but
 “ by this delay, to give time to Marshal *Richlieu* to take
 “ the fortification, return with his fleet, and leave Mr.
 “ *Byng* to cruise ineffectually round *Minorca*. Indeed
 “ the brave *Irishman* disappointed the expectations of
 “ those who had thus designed the whole transaction,
 “ by defending the place becoming the duty of *British*
 “ subjects, and not according to sinister intention.

53 “ By this contemptible cunning, a quality often con-
 “ nected with ignorance in little minds, it seems con-
 “ trived, that if General *Blakeney* gave up the citadel
 “ before Mr. *Byng's* arrival, then HE was to be ex-
 “ claimed against, and charged with cowardice; and if
 “ HE held out, as the ADMIRAL was insufficient, then
 “ that imputation was to fall on the latter.

“ Was it not therefore owing to the daily disappoint-
 “ ment of hearing that the citadel had surrendered, that
 “ no fleet was sent to reinforce Mr. *Byng*; apprehend-
 “ ing that with a reinforcement he would raise the siege,
 “ which seems so contrary to the intent of sending him?
 “ Was it not on this account that they did not stop him
 “ by express at *Gibraltar*, to wait for more ships of war?
 “ And at last, was not the reinforcement sent when it
 “ could not possibly arrive till after the admiral had
 “ succeeded or miscarried?

“ At length comes a letter from Monsieur *La Galif-*
 “ *sonniere*, of the *English* fleet having retired; when im-
 “ mediately a report prevailed, that from a letter sent
 “ by Admiral *Byng* from *Gibraltar*, it was foreseen that
 “ he would not fight: after some time a letter from
 “ Admiral

“ Admiral *Byng* arrives, printed in the *Gazette*, where
 “ the most material passages in vindication of his conduct
 “ are cut out; to preserve the former impressions of his
 “ having behaved like a coward, at the same time con-
 “ demning the resolutions of the whole council of war
 “ unheard, a most flagrant affront on men of superior
 “ birth, by one who has undeservedly started into nobility.

“ It was now necessary to continue inventing more
 “ tales against Mr. *Byng*; one day it was given out,
 “ that he had sold out of the stocks forty-four thousand
 “ pounds before he sailed, which was to insinuate, that
 “ he left *England* with a design never to return: the
 “ falshood of this report may be seen in the stock books.
 “ Then it was reported, that this was the man who
 “ cruised before *Genoa* last war, and took money to let
 “ vessels with provisions and men pass to the relief of
 “ the town; a known falshood, and were not the ashes
 “ of the dead sacred, I would tell you his name: was
 “ not this to hint the idea of venality?

“ Then it seems it was discovered, that a ship with
 “ provisions had gotten into *Mabon* the very day before
 “ the action, which ship arrived at the port a month
 “ before the investing the citadel; was not this to in-
 “ sinuate that he might have landed his soldiers also?

“ Ballads were made to keep up your resentment,
 “ and the admiral hanged and burnt in effigy at the
 “ national expence, by the clerks and officers of public
 “ offices, amongst whom one Mr. *Glover*, belonging
 “ to the *Viſtualling-Office*, burning him in *Whitechapel*
 “ road, was rewarded with a broken leg by the *Barking*
 “ stage-coach.

39
 “ It was now thought necessary to assert, that Mr.
 “ *Byng* was attempting to escape in women’s clothes,
 “ to impart the idea of conscious guiltiness, which is
 “ likewise an invention of falshood; and yet this idea
 “ was to be continued by fixing iron bars to the win-
 “ dows, to prevent a man from escaping, whom they
 “ wish to be well rid of, and who would not leave the
 “ place if they would permit him.

“ At one time he is represented as mad, and then
 “ as killing himself with drinking: then, that it is to
 “ be feared he may attempt suicide. Believe me, he
 “ has not lost his senses, as his accusers will find, nor
 “ will he destroy himself with his own hands; and it is
 “ the duty of the people to preserve his life, for the
 “ sake of more perfectly knowing what influenced his
 “ pursuers to contrive and conduct the expedition in so
 “ preposterous a manner.

“ And lastly, these contemptible artifices are followed
 “ by a letter to Admiral *Byng*, published at the expence
 “ of his enemies, and hawked through the streets for
 “ the sake of universal publication*. But the whole is
 “ an entire declamation, intended to inflame, founded
 “ on no one argument, and concludes with a confession,
 “ which his adversaries would do extremely well to learn

* This was probably the performance mentioned by Dr. *Johnson* in the life of *David Mallet*. “ In the beginning of the last war,
 “ when the nation was exasperated by ill success, he was employed
 “ to turn the public vengeance upon *Byng*, and wrote a letter of
 “ accusation under the character of a *Plain Man*. The paper was
 “ with great industry circulated and dispersed; and he for his
 “ seasonable intervention had a considerable pension bestowed upon
 “ him, which he retained to his death.” E.

“ by heart, against that day when public justice will
“ demand them to their trials.”

Such is the plea of the persecuted *Byng*, on which, 62
though we do not suppose that the public will pay much
regard to our determination, we shall give our opinion
with the freedom of men uninfluenced by dependence
or expectation.

It appears to us that *Byng* has suffered without suffi-
cient cause.

That he was sent to the relief of *Minorca*, when relief
was known to be no longer possible.

That he was sent without land forces, the only forces
that could raise the siege.

That his fleet was inferior, and long before the battle
was known at home to be inferior to that of the *French*.

That he fought them, and retreated only when he
could fight no longer.

That a second engagement would only have increased
the loss suffered in the first.

That a victory at sea would not have saved *Minorca*.

That there was no provision for the chances of a 70
battle.

That the nation has been industriously deceived by
false and treacherous representations.

That *Minorca*, if not betrayed, has been neglected.

That *Byng's* letter has been mutilated injuriously,
fraudulently mutilated.

That every act of defamation has been practised
against him.

That unless other evidence can be produced, *Byng*
will be found innocent. 75

The Conduct of the MINISTRY impartially
examined, in a LETTER to the Merchants of
LONDON.

OF this pamphlet the eight first pages contain only the general declarations of every writer of every party, with a little flattery, not gross or indecent, of the merchants, an exhortation to impartiality, and an encomium on the purity of his own intention. When a man appeals to himself for what only himself can know, he may be very confident of a favourable sentence. This author may perhaps think as he writes, for there are men who think as they are bidden. He then takes into consideration a pamphlet which he does not name, because, I suppose, he would not help to advertise it. This is artful, but it is not dishonest. The pamphlet is, I think, one of the *Letters to the People of England*, from which he gives the following quotation, with his answer.

“ In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-
“ nine, or fifty, some *American* traders, subjects of the
“ king of *Great-Britain*, travelled to the borders of the
“ *Ohio* to traffick with the natives of those parts; this
“ being known to the *Canadian French*, messengers were
“ dispatched to acquaint them, that, unless they with-
“ drew from their master’s territories, their effects would
“ be confiscated, and themselves carried to prison at
“ *Quebec*.

" *Quebec*. This message the traders thought fit to obey,
 " and withdrew in consequence of it.

" The succeeding season, another company of *British*
 " subjects came to trade on the *Ohio*: and not with-
 " drawing on a like message with the former, their
 " goods were confiscated, and themselves carried pri-
 " soners to *Quebec*, from whence they were brought to
 " *Rochelle* in *France*, and still detained in prison. Not
 " conscious of having violated the laws of nations, or
 " traded on any ground to which the king of *Great-*
 " *Britain* had not an undoubted right, they remon-
 " strated to the *British* ministry, insisted upon being
 " claimed as *British* subjects, and honourably discharged
 " from prison, as persons unoffending the laws of na-
 " tions; nay, they entertained the honourable hopes of
 " *Englishmen*, that the ministry of *England* would not
 " cease to demand an indemnification for the loss of
 " that merchandize, which had been unjustly taken from
 " them; and reparation for the insult and long im-
 " prisonment of their persons: expectations becoming
 " men, who value their liberties, properties, and nation's
 " honour. In this they were deceived, the true spirit
 " of an *English* minister no longer dwelt amongst us.
 " The ambassador at *Paris*, instead of demanding these
 " subjects of his master, as men unjustly held in prison,
 " and reparation for the wrongs they had received, was
 " ordered by the ministry to solicit, as a favour from
 " the court of *France*, the discharge of them only, ac-
 " knowledging their offence."

Thus he relates and circumstantiates the fact: and
 here I beg leave to remark, that when the circumstances,
 on

on which alone a charge is founded, are absolutely false, all reflections upon them must be utterly absurd and impertinent. But when those reflections, aimed too at persons of the highest rank, of the greatest eminence in this nation, are delivered in a stile of the most indecent and furious railing; what name, gentlemen, shall we bestow on their author? or what shall be said in reply to them? No more, I think, than what *Beralde*, in the *Malade Imaginaire* of *Moliere*, answers to the apothecary. *Allez, Monsieur; on voit bien que nous n'avez pas accoutumé de parler a des visages.* Here, however, they follow in his own words still:

“ Were not your sovereign’s rights and your own
 “ privileges shamefully given up? Were not the lands
 “ on the *Ohio* confessed to belong to *France*? Were not
 “ the *French* justified in imprisoning your fellow-sub-
 “ jects, and confiscating their effects, by this tame be-
 “ haviour of the *British* minister?” He resumes the same
 subject, page 8, and asserts, “ That the minister’s timidly
 “ beseeching as a favour what he had a right to demand
 “ as justice from the *French*, has given that nation a
 “ better foundation to the claim of the *Ohio*.” In about
 fifteen lines lower, he asserts again, “ That the timidity
 “ of the minister gave the *French* no foundation at all.”
 But he has not yet done with this favourite topic. He
 goes on to say, “ If it be asked whence it comes to pass
 “ that this behaviour of the *British* minister has never
 “ been mentioned in the *French* memorials, relative to
 “ the disputes in *America*? it may be answered, with
 “ truth, that they reserve it only between the *British*
 “ minister and themselves; lest a public declaration of
 “ this

“ this affair might remove him from the administration,
 “ and the *French* monarch lose an ally of greater consequence to his success, than any potentate in *Europe*.”

Here then we join issue : and let his credit with the public for veracity and candour, in whatever else he asserts through his libel, be determined by the truth or falshood of the fact before us. This demand, gentlemen, is fair and equitable : you see he affirms it in the most undoubting terms, and remarks upon it in a language that not even certainty itself could warrant. But to the point :

On a motion made to the peers, the twentieth of *February*, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, certain papers and letters concerning the encroachments of the *French* on his Majesty's subjects in *North America*, were laid before the House. As their authenticity is incontrovertible, I have only the easy task of copying them faithfully for your full satisfaction.

Extract of a letter from the earl of Albemarle to the earl of Holderness.

Paris, 19th February, 1 March, 1752.

“ I must acquaint your lordship, that, in the month
 “ of *November*, I received a letter from three persons,
 “ signing themselves, *John Patton*, *Luke Erwin*, and
 “ *Thomas Bourke*; representing to me, that they were
 “ *Englishmen*, who had been brought to *Rochelle*, and put
 “ into prison there, from whence they wrote : having
 “ been taken by the *French* subjects, who seized their
 “ effects as they were trading with the *English* and other
 “ *Indians*

“ *Indians* on the river *Ohio*, and carried them prisoners
 “ to *Quebec*; from whence they have been sent over to
 “ *Rochelle*, where they are hardly used. Upon this in-
 “ formation I applied to Mr. *St. Contest*, and gave him
 “ a note of it, claiming them, as the king’s subjects,
 “ and demanding their liberty and the restitution of
 “ their effects that had been unjustly taken from them.

“ These three persons, I find by the paper your lord-
 “ ship has sent me, are of the number of those de-
 “ manded of the *French* by Mr. *Clinton*, and named in
 “ Mr. *de la Jonquiere*’s letter. I have wrote to a mer-
 “ chant at *Rochelle* to enquire after them, and to supply
 “ them with money to make their journey hither, if
 “ they are not gone; that I may receive from them
 “ all the informations necessary. On my seeing Mr.
 “ *St. Contest*, next Tuesday, I will represent the case to
 “ him, in obedience to his Majesty’s commands, that
 “ *la Jonquiere* may have positive orders to desist from
 “ the unjustifiable proceedings complained of; to re-
 “ lease any of his Majesty’s subjects he may still detain
 “ in prison, and make ample restitution of their effects.
 “ And I shall take care to shew him the absolute ne-
 “ cessity of sending instructions to their several gover-
 “ nors, not to attempt any such encroachments for the
 “ future.”

*Extract of a letter from the earl of Albemarle to the earl
 of Holderness.*

26th February, 8th March, 1752.

“ I am now to acquaint your lordship, that I saw
 “ Monsieur *Rouillé* yesterday; and that having drawn
 “ up

“ up a note of the several complaints I had received
 “ orders to make of *la Jonquiere's* conduct, I delivered
 “ it to him, and told him, in general, the contents of
 “ it; insisting on the necessity, for preserving the good
 “ understanding betwixt his Majesty and the most chris-
 “ tian king, of sending such positive orders to all their
 “ governors, as might effectually prevent, for the fu-
 “ ture, any such encroachments on his Majesty's terri-
 “ tories, and committing such violencies on his subjects
 “ as had been done in the past.

“ I added to my remonstrance, that I hoped they
 “ would be taken into consideration quickly; that he
 “ might be able to give me an answer next week, or
 “ as soon afterwards as he possibly could. This minister
 “ told me, he would use his best endeavours for that
 “ purpose; assured me it was the intention of his court
 “ to prevent any disputes arising that might tend to alter
 “ the present correspondence between the two nations;
 “ and that I might depend upon such orders being sent
 “ to their governors accordingly.

“ Of the three men I mentioned to your lordship in
 “ my letter of last week, that had been brought prison-
 “ ers from *Canada* to *Rochelle*, whom I sent for to come
 “ to *Paris*, two of them are arrived, and the third is
 “ gone to *London*. I will take such informations from
 “ them as may be necessary for my own instruction,
 “ to support their receiving satisfaction for the injuries
 “ that have been done them.”

Translation

Translation of part of the Memorial delivered by lord Albemarle to Mr. Rouillé, on the 7th of March, 1752.

“ As to the fort which the *French* have undertaken
 “ to build on the river *Niagara*, and as to the six
 “ *Englishmen* who have been made prisoners; lord *Albe-*
 “ *marle* is ordered by his court to demand that the most
 “ exprefs orders be sent to Mr. *de la Jonquiere*, to desist
 “ from such unjust proceedings, and in particular to
 “ cause the fort above-mentioned to be immediately
 “ razed; and the *French* and others in their alliance,
 “ who may happen to be there, to retire forthwith: as
 “ likewise to set the six *Englishmen* at liberty, and to
 “ make them ample satisfaction for the wrongs and
 “ losses they have suffered; and lastly, that the persons
 “ who have committed these excesses, be punished in
 “ such a manner as may serve for an example to those
 “ who might hereafter venture on any like attempt.”

I have now, gentlemen, let you into the truth of this transaction; which the pamphleteer assures you was little known, till he explained, that is, till he falsified it in every particular but one, and that nothing at all to the purpose of calumny. Is this then the advocate of the people of *England*? Is it thus he informs our judgments first, to set our passions afterwards on the side of truth and public spirit?”

Of these two accounts thus set in opposition to each other, it is not very apparent but that both may be near the truth. That some men taken prisoners were once demanded with some degree of spirit is evident, but it
 does

does not appear whether they were restored on *demand* or on supplication; nor can it be found that any restitution was made of their goods, or was required a second time. The *three* men who are mentioned in the first paper seem to be different from those mentioned in the other, of whose fate there is no account.

He next mentions an assertion of the same author relating to the lands on the *Ohio*, but does not quote the passage, nor does the answer contain any facts of much importance.

In the next pages of this pamphlet, is a pompous detail of the ships, which under the command of different admirals went out, did nothing, and came home to be refitted. Some reasons are indeed given why they did nothing, while our enemies did every thing. It is very possible to be unfortunate, but it is full as common to be foolish and dishonest.

In one of his pages he just mentions the invasion with which we were threatened in the beginning of the year, over which, however, *he chuses to throw a total veil*. Surely he would not have us forget the alarm which frightened some of our women to strong waters, and our parliament to *Hanoverian* troops. Let us not forget the flat-bottomed boats, built, I suppose, in the clouds, and and now lost in the clouds again. Again, let us not forget, that when any nation is to be fleeced, it is first to be frightened.

The latter part of this pamphlet relates to the case of the unfortunate *Byng*, whom he treats, as the other ministerial writers have treated him, with the utmost malevolence. He first begins with telling us, in a manner

manner very little satisfactory, why more ships were not sent to *Minorca*. After *Byng's* squadron, and others were sent out, we had but thirty four ships fitted and manned, of which *it was now judged indispensably necessary to have nineteen cruising before Brest and Rochfort*. This is nothing, the question is, whether such judgment was right. Of the other fifteen he gives no account. The whole of his argument is this, that more ships were not sent to *Minorca*, because they were at some other place; for what reason they were at a place where they were less needed he has not informed us. He then tells us that *Byng's* fleet was remarkably well manned and equipped, and that the *French* fleet carried only *the sweepings of Toulon, old men past service, or boys not yet grown up to it*. I will not positively deny what I do not certainly know to be false, but as a writer of this kind has no claim to credit on his own word, he should have told us by what intelligence he knows it to be true. The *French* seldom want men, a few practised seamen were sufficient for such a short and safe navigation, and the rest of the crew might easily be supplied. I am therefore apt to suspect that he has distributed youth and age according to his pleasure.

He goes on in the stile of his brethren to tell us, that *the disgrace of the British flag, and the fatal disasters consequent on that disgrace, were the effort of ONE MAN'S— But let the justice of the nation give it a name.*

To name a crime is easy. If *Byng* be criminal, there are but two names for his crime, it was either treachery or cowardice. The crime of a writer of falsehood is either malice or prostitution. I accuse this writer of
neither,

neither, but as I am very ambitious of imitating every one who has intimacies with men of power, will leave the justice of the nation to give a name to the man who declares that *Byng* could not only have relieved fort *St. Philip*, though he had but one regiment on board, who were in the battle to serve him as marines, and was called back even from observing the place by a superior fleet, but *that he might have brought back a marshal of France, and his army prisoners.*

To what has been said already on the case of Mr. *Byng*, I shall add,

That his enemies have, since the appearance of his defence, endeavoured to change the state of the question.

That the most forward of the ministerial writers dare no longer charge him as the loser of *Minorca*.

That the only question now is concerning his conduct in the battle.

That this is a question relating no otherwise to the nation, than as the nation is interested in the discipline of the navy.

That by his cowardice, if we prejudge him a coward, he lost no ground, for *Minorca* could not be saved; no ship, for he brought his whole fleet away; no honour, for the enemy retired before him.

That if *Byng's* general character be infamous, those must share the infamy, that selected him for an undertaking so important.

That *Byng* has been treated since his return with indignities and severities, neither decent nor needful.

That papers have been industriously given away to inflame the populace against him.

H h

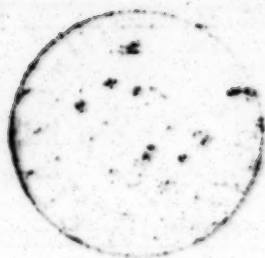
That

466 THE CONDUCT OF MINISTRY.

That since the prosecution of *Laud*, no such zeal for vindictive justice has been ever shewn.

That from such diligence of persecution there is reason to believe there are some latent enemies interested in the accusation, who defame him that he may be less invidiously destroyed.

That whatever be the fate of *Byng*, the justice of the nation ought to hunt out the men who lost *Minorca*.



.CON-

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE CASE OF

DR. T[RAPP]'s SERMONS*,

Abridged by Mr. CAVE, 1739.

1. **T**HAT the copy of a book is the property of the author, and that he may, by sale or otherwise, transfer that property to another, who has a right to be protected in the possession of that property, so transferred, is not to be denied.

2. That the complainants may be lawfully invested with the property of this copy, is likewise granted.

3. But the complainants have mistaken the nature of this property; and, in consequence of their mistake, have supposed it to be invaded by an act, in itself legal, and justifiable by an uninterrupted series of precedents,

* Dr. Trapp, it will be recollected, was a popular preacher; and, about the year 1739, when Methodism might be said to be in its infancy, preached Four Sermons "On the Nature, Folly, Sin, and Danger, of being righteous over-much;" which were published by *Austen and Gilliver*, and had an extensive sale. Mr. Cave, ever ready to oblige his readers with temporary subjects, took an extract from them, and promised a *continuation*, which never appeared; so that it was either stopped by a prosecution, or made up by other means. On all difficult occasions Johnson was Cave's oracle. And the paper now before us was certainly written on *that* occasion. Gent. Mag. July 1787.

from the first establishment of printing among us, down to the present time.

4. He that purchases the copy of a book, purchases the sole right of printing it, and of vending the books printed according to it; but has no right to add to it, or take from it, without the author's consent, who still preserves such a right in it, as follows from the right every man has to preserve his own reputation.

5. Every single book, so sold by the proprietor, becomes the property of the buyer, who purchases with the book the right of making such use of it as he shall think most convenient, either for his own improvement or amusement, or the benefit or entertainment of mankind.

6. This right the reader of a book may use many ways to the disadvantage both of the author and the proprietor, which yet they have not any right to complain of, because the author when he wrote, and the proprietor when he purchased, the copy, knew, or ought to have known, that the one wrote, and the other purchased, under the hazard of such treatment from the buyer and reader, and without any security from the bad consequences of that treatment except the excellence of the book.

7. Reputation and property are of different kinds; one kind of each is more necessary to be secured by the law than another, and the law has provided more effectually for its defence. My character as a man, a subject, or a trader, is under the protection of the law; but my reputation as an author is at the mercy of the reader, who lies under no other obligations to do me justice than those of religion and morality. If a man calls me
rebel

rebel or bankrupt, I may prosecute and punish him; but, if a man calls me idiot or plagiarist, I have no remedy, since, by selling him the book; I admit his privilege of judging, and declaring his judgment, and can appeal only to other readers, if I think myself injured.

8. In different characters we are more or less protected; to hiss a pleader at the bar would perhaps be deemed illegal and punishable, but to hiss a dramatic writer is justifiable by custom.

9. What is here said of the writer, extends itself naturally to the purchaser of a copy, since the one seldom suffers without the other.

10. By these liberties it is obvious, that authors and proprietors may often suffer, and sometimes unjustly: but as these liberties are encouraged and allowed for the same reason with writing itself, for the discovery and propagation of truth, though, like other human goods, they have their alloys and ill-consequences; yet, as their advantages abundantly preponderate, they have never yet been abolished or restrained.

11. Thus every book, when it falls into the hands of the reader, is liable to be examined, confuted, censured, translated, and *abridged*; any of which may destroy the credit of the author, or hinder the sale of the book.

12. That all these liberties are allowed, and cannot be prohibited without manifest disadvantage to the public, may be easily proved; but we shall confine ourselves to the liberty of making epitomes, which gives occasion to our present enquiry.

13. That an uninterrupted prescription confers a right, will be easily granted, especially if it appears that the pre-

scription, pleaded in defence of that right, might at any time have been interrupted, had it not been always thought agreeable to reason and to justice.

14. The numberless abridgements that are to be found of all kinds of writings, afford sufficient evidence that they were always thought legal, for they are printed with the names of the abbreviators and publishers, and without the least appearance of a clandestine transaction. Many of the books so abridged were the properties of men who wanted neither wealth, nor interest, nor spirit, to sue for justice, if they had thought themselves injured. Many of these abridgements must have been made by men whom we can least suspect of illegal practices, for there are few books of late that are not abridged.

15. When Bishop Burnet heard that his "History of the Reformation" was about to be abridged, he did not think of appealing to the Court of Chancery; but, to avoid any misrepresentation of his History, epitomised it himself, as he tells us in his preface.

16. But, lest it should be imagined that an author might do this rather by choice than necessity, we shall produce two more instances of the like practice, where it would certainly not have been borne if it had been suspected of illegality. The one, in Clarendon's History, which was abridged in 2 vols. 8vo.; and the other in Bishop Burnet's "History of his own Time," abridged in the same manner. The first of these books was the property of the university of Oxford, a body tenacious enough of their rights; the other, of Bishop Burnet's heirs, whose circumstances were such as made them very sensible of any diminution of their inheritance.

17. It is observable, that both these abridgements last mentioned, with many others that might be produced, were made when the act of parliament for securing the property of copies was in force, and which, if that property was injured, afforded an easy redress: what then can be inferred from the silence and forbearance of the proprietors, but that they thought an epitome of a book no violation of the right of the proprietor?

18. That their opinion, so contrary to their own interest, was founded in reason, will appear from the nature and end of an abridgement.

19. The design of an abridgement is, to benefit mankind by facilitating the attainment of knowledge, and by contracting arguments, relations, or descriptions, into a narrow compass; to convey instruction in the easiest method, without fatiguing the attention, burdening the memory, or impairing the health of the student.

20. By this method the original author becomes, perhaps, of less value, and the proprietor's profits are diminished; but these inconveniences give way to the advantage received by mankind from the easier propagation of knowledge; for as an incorrect book is lawfully criticised, and false assertions justly confuted, because it is more the interest of mankind that error should be detected and truth discovered, than that the proprietors of a particular book should enjoy their profits undiminished; so a tedious volume may no less lawfully be abridged, because it is better that the proprietors should suffer some damage, than that the acquisition of knowledge should be obstructed with unnecessary difficulties, and the valuable hours of thousands thrown away.

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21. Therefore, as he that buys the copy of a book, buys it under this condition, that it is liable to be confuted if it is false, however his property may be affected by such a confutation; so he buys it likewise liable to be abridged if it be tedious, however his property may suffer by the abridgement.

22. To abridge a book, therefore, is no violation of the right of the proprietor, because to be subject to the hazard of an abridgement was an original condition of the property.

23. Thus we see the right of abridging authors established both by reason and the customs of trade. But, perhaps, the necessity of this practice may appear more evident, from a consideration of the consequences that must probably follow from the prohibition of it.

24. If abridgements be condemned as injurious to the proprietor of the copy, where will this argument end? Must not confutations be likewise prohibited for the same reason? or, in writings of entertainment, will not criticisms at least be entirely suppressed, as equally hurtful to the proprietor, and certainly not more necessary to the public?

25. Will not authors who write for pay, and who are rewarded commonly according to the bulk of their work, be tempted to fill their works with superfluities and digressions, when the dread of an abridgement is taken away, as doubtless more negligences would be committed, and more falsehoods published, if men were not restrained by the fear of censure and confutation?

26. How many useful works will the busy, the indolent, and the less wealthy part of mankind be deprived of?

of? How few will read or purchase forty-four large volumes of the Transactions of the Royal Society, which, in abridgement, are generally read, to the great improvement of philosophy?

27. How must general systems of sciences be written, which are nothing more than epitomes of those authors who have written on particular branches, and whose works are made less necessary by such collections? Can he that destroys the profit of many copies be less criminal than he that lessens the sale of one?

28. Even to confute an erroneous book will become more difficult, since it has always been a custom to abridge the author whose assertions are examined, and sometimes to transcribe all the essential parts of his book. Must an enquirer after truth be debarred from the benefit of such confutations, unless he purchases the book, however useless, that gave occasion to the answer?

29. Having thus endeavoured to prove the legality of abridgements from custom, and the necessity of continuing that custom from reason, it remains only, that we shew that we have not printed the complainant's copy, but abridged it.

30. This will need no proof, since it will appear, upon comparing the two books, that we have reduced thirty-seven pages to thirteen of the same print.

31. Our design is, to give our readers a short view of the present controversy; and we require that one of these two positions be proved, either that we have no right to exhibit such a view, or that we can exhibit it without epitomizing the writers of each party.

The

The following passages, introductory to the Lives of Sir THOMAS BROWNE and ROGER ASCHAM, being omitted by Sir JOHN HAWKINS, are here restored.

SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

THOUGH the writer of the following ESSAYS* seems to have had the fortune common among men of letters, of raising little curiosity after his private life, and has, therefore, few memorials preserved of his felicities or misfortunes; yet, because an edition of a posthumous work appears imperfect and neglected, without some account of the author, it was thought necessary to attempt the gratification of that curiosity which naturally inquires by what peculiarities of nature or fortune eminent men have been distinguished, how uncommon attainments have been gained, and what influence learning had on its possessors, or virtue on its teachers.

ROGER ASCHAM.

IT often happens to writers, that they are known only by their works; the incidents of a literary life are seldom observed, and therefore seldom recounted; but *Ascham* has escaped the common fate by the friendship of *Edward Graunt*, the learned master of Westminster

* Entitled "Christian Morals," published not as Sir John Hawkins asserts in 1752, but 1756.

school, who devoted an oration to his memory, and has marked the various vicissitudes of his fortune. *Graunt* either avoided the labour of minute inquiry, or thought domestic occurrences unworthy of his notice; or preferring the character of an orator to that of an historian, selected only such particulars as he could best express, or most happily embellish. His narrative is therefore scanty, and I know not by what materials it can now be amplified.

Dedication to Dr. JAMES'S MEDICAL
DICTIONARY, 3 vols. folio, 1743.

TO Dr. MEAD.

S I R,

THAT the Medicinal Dictionary is dedicated to you, is to be imputed only to your reputation for superior skill in those sciences which I have endeavoured to explain and facilitate; and you are therefore to consider this address, if it be agreeable to you, as one of the rewards of merit; and if otherwise, as one of the inconveniences of eminence.

However you shall receive it, my design cannot be disappointed; because this public appeal to your judgment will shew that I do not found my hopes of approbation upon the ignorance of my readers; and that I fear his censure least whose knowledge is most extensive,

I am, S I R,

Your most obedient humble servant,

R. JAMES.

Dedi-

Dedication to the FEMALE QUIXOTE. By
Mrs. LENNOX. Published 1752.

To the Right Hon. the EARL of MIDDLESEX.

MY LORD,

SUCH is the power of interest over almost every mind, that no one is long without arguments to prove any position which is ardently wished to be true, or to justify any measures which are dictated by inclination.

By this subtil sophistry of desire, I have been persuaded to hope that this book may, without impropriety, be inscribed to your lordship; but am not certain that my reasons will have the same force upon other understandings.

The dread which a writer feels of the public censure; the still greater dread of neglect; and the eager wish for support and protection, which is impressed by the consciousness of imbecillity, are unknown to those who have never ventured into the world; and I am afraid, my lord, equally unknown to those who have always found the world ready to applaud them.

'Tis therefore not unlikely that the design of this address may be mistaken, and the effects of my fear imputed to my vanity. They who see your lordship's name prefixed to my performance will rather condemn my presumption than compassionate my anxiety.

But, whatever be supposed my motive, the praise of judgment cannot be denied me; for, to whom can timidity so properly fly for shelter, as to him who has been so long distinguished for candour and humanity?

How

How can vanity be so compleatly gratified as by the allowed patronage of him, whose judgment has so long given a standard to the national taste? Or by what other means could I so powerfully suppress all opposition, but that of envy, as by declaring myself,

My lord,

Your lordship's obliged and most obedient servant,

THE AUTHOR?

Dedication to SHAKESPEAR illustrated; or, the Novels and Histories on which the Plays of Shakespear are founded, collected and translated from the original Authors. With critical remarks. By the Author of the Female Quixote, 1753.

To the Right Hon. JOHN EARL of ORRERY.

MY LORD,

I HAVE no other pretence to the honour of a patronage, so illustrious as that of your lordship, than the merit of attempting what has by some unaccountable neglect been hitherto omitted, though absolutely necessary to a perfect knowledge of the abilities of Shakespear.

Among the powers that must conduce to constitute a poet, the first and most valuable is invention, the highest seems,

seems to be that which is able to produce a series of events. It is easy when the thread of a story is once drawn, to diversify it with variety of colours; and when a train of action is presented to the mind, a little acquaintance with life will supply circumstances and reflexions, and a little knowledge of books furnish parallels and illustrations. To tell over again a story that has been told already, and to tell it better than the first author, is no rare qualification; but to strike out the first hints of a new fable; hence to introduce a set of characters so diversified in their several passions and interests, that from the clashing of this variety may result many necessary incidents; to make these incidents surprizing, and yet natural, so as to delight the imagination without shocking the judgment of a reader; and finally to wind up the whole in a pleasing catastrophe, produced by those very means which seem most likely to oppose and prevent it, is the utmost effort of the human mind.

To discover how few of those writers, who profess to recount imaginary adventures, have been able to produce any thing by their own imagination, would require too much of that time which your lordship employs in nobler studies. Of all the novels and romances that wit or idleness, vanity or indigence, have pushed into the world, there are very few of which the end cannot be conjectured from the beginning; or where the authors have done more than to transpose the incidents of other tales, or strip the circumstances from one event for the decoration of another.

In the examination of a poet's character, it is therefore first to be enquired what degree of invention has been

been exerted by him. With this view I have very diligently read the works of Shakespear, and now presume to lay the result of my searches before your lordship, before that judge whom Pliny himself would have wished for his assessor to hear a literary cause.

How much the translation of the following novels will add to the reputation of Shakespear, or take away from it, you, my lord, and men learned and candid like you, if any such can be found, must now determine. Some danger, as I am informed there is, lest his admirers should think him injured by this attempt, and clamour as at the diminution of the honour of that nation which boasts herself the parent of so great a poet.

That no such enemies may arise against me (though I am unwilling to believe it) I am far from being too confident, for who can fix bounds to bigotry and folly? My *sex*, my *age*, have not given me many opportunities of mingling in the world; there may be in it many a species of absurdity which I have never seen, and among them such vanity as pleases itself with false praise bestowed on another, and such superstition as worships idols, without supposing them to be Gods.

But the truth is, that a very small part of the reputation of this mighty genius depends upon the naked plot or story of his plays. He lived in an age when the books of chivalry were yet popular, and when therefore the minds of his auditors were not accustomed to balance probabilities, or to examine nicely the proportion between causes and effects. It was sufficient to recommend a story, that it was far removed from common life,

life, that its changes were frequent, and its close pathetic.

This disposition of the age concurred so happily with the imagination of Shakespear, that he had no desire to reform it, and indeed to this he was indebted for the licentious variety, by which he has made his plays more entertaining than those of any other author.

He had looked with great attention on the scenes of nature; but his chief skill was in human actions, passions, and habits; he was therefore delighted with such tales as afforded numerous incidents, and exhibited many characters in many changes of situation. These characters are so copiously diversified, and some of them so justly pursued, that his works may be considered as a map of life, a faithful miniature of human transactions; and he that has read Shakespear with attention will perhaps find little new in the crowded world.

Among his other excellencies it ought to be remarked, because it has hitherto been unnoticed, that his *heroes are men*, that the love and hatred, the hopes and fears of his chief personages are such as are common to other human beings, and not like those which later times have exhibited, peculiar to phantoms that strut upon the stage.

It is not perhaps very necessary to inquire whether the vehicle of so much delight and instruction be a story probable or unlikely, native or foreign. Shakespear's excellence is not the fiction of a tale, but the representation of life; and his reputation is therefore safe, till human nature shall be changed. Nor can he, who has so many just claims to praise, suffer by losing that
which

which ignorant admiration has unreasonably given him. To calumniate the dead is baseness, and to flatter them is surely folly.

From flattery, my lord, either of the dead or the living I wish to be clear, and have therefore solicited the countenance of a patron, whom, if I knew how to praise him, I could praise with truth, and have the world on my side; whose candour and humanity are universally acknowledged, and whose judgment perhaps was then first to be doubted, when he condescended to admit this address from

My lord,

Your lordship's most obliged
and most obedient humble servant,

THE AUTHOR.

Dedication to PAYNE'S Introduction to the
GAME at DRAUGHTS, 1756.

To the Right Hon. WILLIAM HENRY, Earl of
ROCHFORD, &c.

MY LORD,

WHEN I take the liberty of addressing to your lordship *A Treatise on the Game of DRAUGHTS*, I easily foresee that I shall be in danger of suffering ridicule on one part, while I am gaining honour on the other, and that many who may envy me the distinction of approaching you, will deride the present I presume to offer.

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Had

Had I considered this little volume as having no purpose beyond that of teaching a game, I should indeed have left it to take its fate without a patron. Triflers may find or make any thing a trifle; but since it is the great characteristic of a wise man to see events in their causes, to obviate consequences, and ascertain contingencies, your lordship will think nothing a trifle by which the mind is inured to caution, foresight, and circumspection. The same skill, and often the same degree of skill, is exerted in great and little things, and your lordship may sometimes exercise, at a harmless game, those abilities which have been so happily employed in the service of your country.

I am, my lord,
Your lordship's most obliged, most obedient,
and most humble servant,
WILLIAM PAYNE.

Dedication to BARETTI'S DICTIONARY of
the English and Italian Languages, 2 vols.
4to. 1760.

To his Excellency Don FELIX, Marquis of Abreu and
Bertodano, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from his Catholic Majesty to the King of
Great-Britain.

MY LORD,

THAT acuteness of penetration into characters and
designs, and that nice discernment of human passions
and

and practices which have raised you to your present height of station and dignity of employment, have long shown you that dedicatory addresses are written for the sake of the author more frequently than of the patron; and though they profess only reverence and zeal, are commonly dictated by interest or vanity.

I shall therefore not endeavour to conceal my motives, but confess that the Italian Dictionary is dedicated to your Excellency, that I might gratify my vanity, by making it known, that, in a country where I am a stranger, I have been able, without any external recommendation, to obtain the notice and countenance of a nobleman so eminent for knowledge and ability; that in his twenty third year he was sent as Plenipotentiary to superintend at Aix la Chapelle, the interests of a nation remarkable above all others for gravity and prudence; and who at an age, when very few are admitted to public trust, transacts the most important affairs between two of the greatest monarchs of the world.

If I could attribute to my own merits the favours which your Excellency every day confers upon me, I know not how much my pride might be inflamed; but when I observe the extensive benevolence and boundless liberality by which all, who have the honour to approach you, are dismissed more happy than they came, I am afraid of raising my own value, since I dare not ascribe it so much to my power of pleasing as your willingness to be pleased.

Yet as every man is inclined to flatter himself, I am desirous to hope that I am not admitted to greater intimacy than others without some qualifications for so

advantageous a distinction, and shall think it my duty to justify, by constant respect and sincerity, the favours which you have been pleased to show me.

I am, my lord,
Your excellency's most humble
and most obedient servant,

London,
Jan. 12, 1760.

J. BARETTI.

Dedication to LONDON and WESTMINSTER
improved, illustrated by PLANS. By JOHN
GWYNN. Published 1766.

TO THE KING.

SIR,

THE patronage of works, which have a tendency towards advancing the happiness of mankind, naturally belongs to great princes; and public good, in which public elegance is comprised, has ever been the object of your Majesty's regard.

In the following pages your Majesty, I flatter myself, will find that I have endeavoured at extensive and general usefulness. Knowing, therefore, your Majesty's early attention to the polite arts, and more particular affection for the study of architecture, I was encouraged to hope that the work, which I now presume to lay before your Majesty, might be thought not unworthy
your

your royal favour; and that the protection which your Majesty always affords to those who mean well may be extended to,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most dutiful subject,
and most obedient,

and most humble servant,

JOHN GWYNN.

Dedication to ADAMS'S TREATISE on the
GLOBES, 1767.

TO THE KING.

S I R,

IT is the privilege of real greatness not to be afraid of diminution by condescending to the notice of little things; and I therefore can boldly solicit the patronage of your Majesty to the humble labours by which I have endeavoured to improve the instruments of science, and make the globes on which the earth and sky are delineated less defective in their construction, and less difficult in their use.

Geography is in a peculiar manner the science of princes. When a private student revolves the terraqueous globe, he beholds a succession of countries in which he has no more interest than in the imaginary regions of Jupiter and Saturn. But your Majesty must contemplate the scientific picture with other sentiments,

timents, and consider, as oceans and continents are rolling before you, how large a part of mankind is now waiting on your determinations, and may receive benefits, or suffer evils, as your influence is extended or withdrawn.

The provinces which your Majesty's arms have added to your dominions, make no inconsiderable part of the orb allotted to human beings. Your power is acknowledged by nations whose names we know not yet how to write, and whose boundaries we cannot yet describe. But your Majesty's lenity and beneficence gives us reason to expect the time when science shall be advanced by the diffusion of happiness; when the desarts of America shall become pervious and safe; when those who are now restrained by fear shall be attracted by reverence; and multitudes who now range the woods for prey, and live at the mercy of winds and seasons, shall by the paternal care of your Majesty enjoy the plenty of cultivated lands, the pleasures of society, the security of law, and the light of Revelation.

I am, SIR,

Your Majesty's most humble, most obedient,

And most dutiful subject and servant,

GEORGE ADAMS.

Dedication to the ENGLISH WORKS of ROGER
ASCHAM, quarto, about 1770.

To the Right Hon. ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, Earl
of SHAFTESBURY, Baron ASHLEY, Lord Lieutenant
and Custos Rotulorum of DORSETSHIRE, F. R. S.

MY LORD,

HAVING endeavoured by an elegant and useful
edition, to recover the esteem of the Publick to an Au-
thor undeservedly neglected, the only care which I now
owe to his memory, is that of inscribing his works to a
patron whose acknowledged eminence of character may
awaken attention and attract regard.

I have not suffered the zeal of an editor so far to take
possession of my mind, as that I should obtrude upon
your Lordship any productions unsuitable to the dignity
of your rank or of your sentiments. Ascham was not
only the chief ornament of a celebrated college, but
visited foreign countries, frequented courts, and lived in
familiarity with statesmen and princes; not only instruct-
ed scholars in literature, but formed *Elizabeth* to empire.

To propagate the works of such a writer will not be
unworthy of your Lordship's patriotism: for I know not
what greater benefits you can confer on your country,
than that of preserving worthy names from oblivion, by
joining them with your own.

I am, My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obliged, most
obedient, and most humble servant,

JAMES BENNET.

Preface to MACBEAN'S DICTIONARY of
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY, 1773.

THE necessity of Geography to historical, political, and commercial knowledge, has been proved too often to be proved again. The curiosity of this nation is sufficiently awakened, and no books are more eagerly received than those which enlarge or facilitate an acquaintance with distant countries.

But as the face of the world changes in time by the migration of nations, the ravages of conquest, the decay of one empire, and the erection of another; as new inhabitants have new languages, and new languages give new names; the maps or descriptions of a later age are not easily applied to the narrations of a former: those that read the Ancients must study the ancient geography, or wander in the dark, without distinct views or certain knowledge.

Yet though the Ancients are read among us, both in the original languages and in translations, more perhaps than in any other country, we have hitherto had very little assistance in ancient Geography. The treatise of Dr. Wells is too general for use, and the Classical Geographical Dictionary, which commonly passes under the name of Echard, is little more than a catalogue of naked names.

A more ample account of the old world is apparently wanting to English literature, and no form seemed equally commodious with that of an alphabetical series. In effect, however systematically any book of General Geography may be written, it is seldom used otherwise than

as a Dictionary. The student wanting some knowledge of a new place, seeks the name in the index, and then by a second labour finds that in a system which he would have found in a dictionary by the first.

As dictionaries are commodious, they are likewise fallacious: he whose works exhibit an apparent connexion and regular subordination cannot easily conceal his ignorance, or favour his idleness; the completeness of one part will show the deficiency of another: but the writer of a dictionary may silently omit what he does not know; and his ignorance, if it happens to be discovered, slips away from censure under the name of forgetfulness.

This artifice of lexicography I hope I shall not often be found to have used. I have not only digested former dictionaries into my alphabet, but have consulted the ancient geographers, without neglecting other authors. I have in some degree enlightened ancient by modern geography, having given the situation of places from later observation. Names are often changing, but place is always the same, and to know it exactly is always of importance: there is no use of erring with the ancients, whose knowledge of the globe was very imperfect; I have therefore used ancient names and modern calculations. The longitude is reckoned from London to the east and west.

A work like this has long been wanted: I would willingly flatter myself that the want is now supplied; and that the English student will for the future more easily understand the narratives of ancient historians, the reasonings of ancient statesmen, and the descriptions of ancient poets.

L E T-

L E T T E R S.

L E T T E R I.

TO MR. CAVE.

SIR,

Nov. 25, 1734.

EA
AS you appear no less sensible than your readers of the defects of your poetical article, you will not be displeased, if, in order to the improvement of it, I communicate to you the sentiments of a person, who will undertake on reasonable terms sometimes to fill a column.

K
His opinion is, that the public would not give you a bad reception, if, beside the current wit of the month, which a critical examination would generally reduce to a narrow compass, you admitted not only poems, inscriptions, &c. never printed before, which he will sometimes supply you with; but likewise short literary dissertations in Latin or English, critical remarks on authors ancient or modern, forgotten poems that deserve revival, or loose pieces, like Floyer's *, worth preserving. By this method your literary article, for so it might be called, will, he thinks, be better recommended to the public, than by low jests, awkward buffoonery, or the dull scurrilities of either party.

If such a correspondence will be agreeable to you, be pleased to inform me in two posts †, what the conditions

* See Gent. Mag. 1734. p. 197. Sir John Floyer's Letter to Mr. King in recommendation of the Cold Bath.

† "Answered, December 2." E. CAVE.

are on which you shall expect it. Your late offer* gives me no reason to distrust your generosity. If you engage in any literary projects besides this paper, I have other designs to impart, if I could be secure from having others reap the advantage of what I should hint.

Your letter, by being directed to *S. Smith*, to be left at the Castle in Birmingham, Warwickshire, will reach

Your humble servant.

L E T T E R II.

TO MR. C A V E.

*Greenwich, next door to the Golden-Heart, Church-street,
July 12, 1737.*

S I R,

HAVING observed in your papers very uncommon offers of encouragement to men of letters, I have chosen, being a stranger in London, to communicate to you the following design, which, I hope, if you join in it, will be of advantage to both of us.

The History of the Council of Trent having been lately translated into French, and published with large notes by Dr. Le Courayer, the reputation of that book is so much revived in England, that, it is presumed, a

* A prize of fifty pounds for the best poem, "on Life, Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell." See *Gent. Mag.* vol. IV. p. 560. N.

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new translation of it from the Italian, together with Le Courayer's notes from the French, could not fail of a favourable reception.

If it be answered, that the history is already in English; it must be remembered, that there was the same objection against Le Courayer's undertaking, with this disadvantage, that the French had a version by one of their best translators, whereas you cannot read three pages of the English History, without discovering that the style is capable of great improvements; but whether those improvements are to be expected from this attempt, you must judge from the specimen, which, if you approve the proposal, I shall submit to your examination.

Suppose the merit of the versions equal, we may hope that the addition of the notes will turn the balance in our favour, considering the reputation of the annotator.

Be pleased to favour me with a speedy answer, if you are not willing to engage in this scheme; and appoint me a day to wait upon you, if you are.

I am, SIR,

Your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LETTER III.

TO MR. CAVE.

No. 6, *Castle-street, Wednesday Morning.*

SIR,

[No Date, 1738.]

WHEN I took the liberty of writing to you a few days ago, I did not expect a repetition of the same plea-

sure so soon; for a pleasure I shall always think it to converse in any manner with an ingenious and candid man; but having the inclosed poem in my hands to dispose of for the benefit of the author (of whose abilities I shall say nothing, since I send you his performance), I believed I could not procure more advantageous terms from any person than from you, who have so much distinguished yourself by your generous encouragement of poetry; and whose judgment of that art nothing but your commendation of my trifle * can give me any occasion to call in question. I do not doubt but you will look over this poem with another eye, and reward it in a different manner, from a mercenary bookseller, who counts the lines he is to purchase, and considers nothing but the bulk. I cannot help taking notice, that, besides what the author may hope for on account of his abilities, he has likewise another claim to your regard, as he lies at present under very disadvantageous circumstances of fortune. I beg therefore that you will favour me with a letter to-morrow, that I may know what you can afford to allow him, that he may either part with it to you, or find out (which I do not expect) some other way more to his satisfaction.

I have only to add, that as I am sensible I have transcribed it very coarsely, which, after having altered it, I was obliged to do, I will, if you please to transmit the sheets from the press, correct it for you; and will take the trouble of altering any stroke of satire which you may dislike.

* His Ode "Ad Urbanum" probably. N.

By exerting on this occasion your usual generosity, you will not only encourage learning, and relieve distress, but (though it be in comparison of the other motives of very small account) oblige in a very sensible manner, SIR,

Your very humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON*.

L E T T E R IV.

TO MR. CAVE.

SIR,

Monday, No. 6, Castle-street.

I AM to return you thanks for the present you were so kind as to send by me, and to intreat that you will be pleased to inform me by the penny-post, whether you resolve to print the Poem †. If you please to send it me by the post, with a note to Doddsley, I will go and read the lines to him, that we may have his consent to put his name in the title-page. As to the printing, if it can be set immediately about, I will be so much the author's friend, as not to content myself with meer

* The poem, or satire, mentioned in this and the following letters, must doubtless have been our author's own "London," which was published by R. Doddsley in May 1738, and is recorded in Gent. Mag. vol. VIII. p. 269, as "being remarkable for having got to the second edition in the space of a week." N.

† London.

solicitations

solicitations in his favour. I propose, if my calculation be near the truth, to engage for the reimbursement of all that you shall lose by an impression of 500, provided, as you very generously propose, that the profit, if any, be set aside for the author's use, excepting the present you made, which, if he be a gainer, it is fit he should repay. I beg that you will let one of your servants write an exact account of the expence of such an impression, and send it with the poem, that I may know what I engage for. I am very sensible, from your generosity on this occasion, of your regard to learning, even in its unhappiest state, and cannot but think such a temper deserving of the gratitude of those who suffer so often from a contrary disposition.

I am, SIR,

Your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

L E T T E R V.

T O M R. C A V E.

S I R,

[No date*.]

I WAITED on you to take the copy to Doddsley's: as I remember the number of lines which it contains, it

* This letter must have been written in April 1738, as appears from an accidental memorandum on the back of it, and from the epigram to Eliza [Miss Carter,] which was printed in that month's Gentleman's Magazine, p. 210, both in Greek and Latin. The three following letters were also written in 1738. N.

will

will be longer than *Eugenio**, with the quotations, which must be subjoined at the bottom of the page, part of the beauty of the performance (if any beauty be allowed it) consisting in adapting Juvenal's sentiments to modern facts and persons. It will, with those additions, very conveniently make five sheets. And since the expence will be no more, I shall contentedly insure it, as I mentioned in my last. If it be not therefore gone to Doddsley's, I beg it may be sent me by the penny-post, that I may have it in the evening. I have composed a Greek Epigram to Eliza, and think she ought to be celebrated in as many different languages as Lewis le

* "*Eugenio, a Virtuous and Happy Life, inscribed to Mr. Pope,*" published by Doddsley in April 1737. The author of this poem, a work by no means destitute of public spirit, and which had had the advantage of being corrected by Dean Swift (see the Supplement to his Works, vol. II. fm. 8vo. p. 459.) was Mr. Beach, a wine-merchant at Wrexham, in Denbighshire, a man of learning, of great humanity, of an easy fortune, and much respected. He is said by some to have entertained very blameable notions in religion; but this appears rather to be conjecture than a well-established fact. It is certain he was at times grievously afflicted with a terrible disorder in his head, to which his friends ascribed his melancholy exit. On the 17th of May, 1737, in less than a month after the publication of his poem, he cut his throat with such shocking resolution, that it was reported his head was almost severed from his body. This shocking catastrophe is thus mentioned by Abp. Herring (then Bp. of Bangor,) in one of his Letters to Mr. Duncombe, p. 54. "The verses you sent me are very sensible and touching: and the sentiments in them, I doubt not, exhilarated the blood for some time, and suspended the black execution; but his distemper, it may be said, got the better, and carried him off at last. I would willingly put the best construction upon these melancholy accidents, and thus leave the sufferers to the Father of Mercies." And an "Epilogue to Cato, for the Scholars at Wrexham, 1735," shews how much better Mr. Beach could think than act. N.

Grand.

Grand. Pray fend me word when you will begin upon the Poem, for it is a long way to walk*. I would leave my Epigram, but have not day-light to transcribe it.

I am, S I R, yours, &c.

SAM. JOHNSON.

L E T T E R VI.

T O M R. C A V E.

S I R,

[No date.]

I AM extremely obliged by your kind letter, and will not fail to attend you to-morrow with Irene, who looks upon you as one of her best friends.

I was to day with Mr. Doddsley, who declares very warmly in favour of the paper you sent him, which he desires to have a share in, it being, as he says, *a creditable thing to be concerned in*. I knew not what answer to make till I had consulted you, nor what to demand on the Author's part, but am very willing that, if you please, he should have a part in it, as he will undoubtedly be more diligent to disperse and promote it. If you can fend me word to-morrow what I shall say to him, I will settle matters, and bring the Poem with me for the press, which, as the town empties, we cannot be too quick with.

I am, S I R, yours, &c.

SAM. JOHNSON.

* He lived at that time in Castle-street, Cavendish-square. N.

L E T T E R VII.

T O M R. C A V E.

S I R,

Wednesday.

I DID not care to detain your servant while I wrote an answer to your letter, in which you seem to insinuate that I had promised more than I am ready to perform. If I have raised your expectations by any thing that may have escaped my memory, I am sorry; and if you remind me of it, shall thank you for the favour. If I made fewer alterations than usual in the Debates*, it was only because there appeared, and still appears to be, less need of alteration. The verses to Lady Firebrace may be had when you please, for you know that such a subject neither deserves much thought, nor requires it.

[T O L A D Y F I R E B R A C E, at Bury Assizes †.

At length must Suffolk's Beauties shine in vain,
 So long renown'd in B——n's deathless strain?
 Thy charms at least, fair Firebrace, might inspire
 Some zealous Bard to wake the sleeping lyre,
 For such thy beauteous mind and lovely face,
 Thou seem'st at once, bright Nymph, a Muse and
 Grace.]

* Those in the Senate of Liliput. N.

† This lady was Bridget 3d daughter of Philip Bacon, Esq; of Ipswich, and relict of Philip Evers, Esq; of that town. She became the second wife of Sir Cordell Firebrace, the last baronet of that name (to whom she brought a fortune of 25,000l.) July 26, 1737. Being again left a widow in 1759, she was a third time married, April 7, 1762, to William Campbell, Esq; uncle to the present Duke of Argyle; and died July 3, 1782. N.

The

The Chinese Stories * may be had folded down when you please to send, in which I do not recollect that you desired any alterations to be made.

An answer to another query I am very willing to write, and had consulted with you about it last night if there had been time; for I think it the most proper way of inviting such a correspondence as may be an advantage to the paper, not a load upon it.

As to the Prize Verses, a backwardness to determine their degrees of merit is not peculiar to me. You may, if you please, still have what I can say; but I shall engage with little spirit in an affair, which I shall *hardly* end to my own satisfaction, and *certainly* not to the satisfaction of the parties concerned †.

As to Father Paul ‡, I have not yet been just to my Proposal, but have met with impediments, which, I hope,

* Du Halde's Description of China was then publishing by Mr. Cave in weekly numbers, whence Johnson was to select pieces for the embellishment of the Magazine. See a letter of his, signed *Eubulus*, Gent. Mag. vol. VIII. p. 365. N.

† The premium of 40l. proposed for the best poem on the Divine Attributes is here alluded to. A former prize of 50l. had been determined in 1736 by three judges (we know not whether Johnson was one,) whose decisions were delivered to the public by Dr. Birch. See Gent. Mag. vol. V. p. 726, and vol. VI. p. 59. Dr. Mortimer, Sec. R. S. was associated with Dr. Birch in declaring the decision. N.

‡ The following Advertisement from "The Weekly Miscellany, Oct. 21, 1738," may now be considered as a curiosity. "Just published, Proposals for printing the History of the Council of Trent, translated from the Italian of Father Paul Sarpi; with the Author's Life, and Notes Theological, Historical, and Critical, from the

hope, are now at an end; and if you find the progress hereafter not such as you have a right to expect, you can easily stimulate a negligent translator.

If any or all these have contributed to your discontent, I will endeavour to remove it; and desire you to propose the question to which you wish for an answer.

I am, SIR, your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LETTER VIII.

TO MR. CAVE.

DEAR SIR,

[No date.]

I AM pretty much of your opinion, that the Commentary cannot be prosecuted with any appearance of

French Edition of Dr. Le Courayer. To which are added, Observations on the History and Notes; and Illustrations from various Authors; both printed and manuscript. By S. Johnson. 1. The work will consist of two hundred sheets, and be two volumes in quarto, printed on good paper and letter. 2. The price will be 18s. each volume, to be paid half a guinea at the time of subscribing, half a guinea at the delivery of the first volume, and the rest at the delivery of the second volume in sheets. 3. Two-pence to be abated for every sheet less than two hundred. It may be had on a large paper, in three volumes, at the price of three guineas; one to be paid at the time of subscribing, another at the delivery of the first, and the rest at the delivery of the other volumes. The work is now in the press, and will be diligently prosecuted. Subscriptions are taken in by Mr. Doddsley in Pall-Mall, Mr. Rivington in St. Paul's Church-yard, by E. Cave at St. John's Gate, and the Translator, at N° 6, in Castle-street, by Cavendish-square. N.

success;

success; for as the names of the authors concerned are of more weight in the performance than its own intrinsic merit, the public will be soon satisfied with it. And I think the *Examen* should be pushed forward with the utmost expedition. Thus, "This day, &c. An Examination of Mr. Pope's Essay, &c. containing a succinct Account of the Philosophy of Mr. Leibnitz on the System of the Fatalists, with a Confutation of their Opinions, and an Illustration of the Doctrine of Free-will *;" [with what else you think proper.]

* This treatise was published, Price 2s. in November 1738, under the title of "An Examination of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man; containing a succinct View of the System of the Fatalists, and a Confutation of their Opinions; with an Illustration of the Doctrine of Free-will, and an Enquiry what View Mr. Pope might have in touching upon the Leibnitzian Philosophy and Fatalism. By Mr. Croufaz, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematicks at Lausanne, &c. Printed for A. Dodd, without Temple Bar, and sold by the Bookfellers." See *Gent. Mag.* vol. VIII. p. 608. 664. N.

"Croufaz was a professor of Switzerland, eminent for his treatise of Logick, and his *Examen de Pyrrhonisme*, and, however little known or regarded here, was no mean antagonist. His mind was one of those in which Philosophy and Piety are happily united. He was accustomed to argument and disquisition, and perhaps was grown too desirous of detecting faults; but his intentions were always right, his opinions were solid, and his religion pure. His incessant vigilance for the promotion of Piety disposed him to look with distrust upon all metaphysical systems of Theology, and all schemes of virtue and happiness purely rational; and therefore it was not long before he was persuaded that the positions of Pope, as they terminated for the most part in natural religion, were intended to draw mankind away from revelation, and to represent the whole course of things as a necessary concatenation of indissoluble fatality; and it is undeniable, that in many passages a religious eye may easily discover expressions not very favourable to morals, or to liberty." Dr. JOHNSON.

It will, above all, be necessary to take notice, that it is a thing distinct from the Commentary.

I was so far from imagining they stood still *, that I conceived them to have a good deal beforehand, and therefore was less anxious in providing them more. But if ever they stand still on my account, it must doubtless be charged to me; and whatever else shall be reasonable, I shall not oppose; but beg a suspense of judgment till morning, when I must intreat you to send me a dozen proposals, and you shall then have copy to spare.

I am, S I R, yours, *impransus*,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Pray muster up the Proposals if you can, or let the boy recall them from the booksellers.

L E T T E R IX.

T O M R. C A V E.

DEAR SIR,

[No date.]

YOU may remember I have formerly talked with you about a Military Dictionary. The eldest Mr. Macbean, who was with Mr. Chambers, has very good materials for such a work, which I have seen, and will do it at a very low rate. I think the terms of War and

* The compositors in Mr. Cave's printing-office, who appear by this letter to have then waited for copy. N.

Navigation might be comprised with good explanations in one 8vo Pica, which he is willing to do for twelve shillings a sheet, to be made up a guinea at the second impression. If you think on it, I will wait on you with him.

I am, SIR,

Your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Pray lend me Topfel on Animals.

L E T T E R X.

To DR. BIRCH.

SIR,

Thursday, Sept. 29, 1743.

I HOPE you will excuse me for troubling you on an occasion on which I know not whom else I can apply to; I am at a loss for the Lives and Characters of Earl Stanhope, the two Craggs, and the Minister Sunderland; and beg that you will inform [me] where I may find them, and send any pamphlets, &c. relating to them to Mr. Cave, to be perused for a few days by, SIR,

Your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

L E T T E R XI.

To MR. ELPHINSTON.

SIR,

I HAVE for a long while intended to answer the letter which you were pleased to send me, and know not

why I have delayed it so long; but that I had nothing particular, either of inquiry or information to send you: and the same reason might still have the same consequence; but that I find in my recluse kind of life, that I am not likely to have much more to say, at one time than another, and that therefore I may endanger by an appearance of neglect, long continued, the loss of such an acquaintance as I know not where to supply. I therefore write now to assure you how sensible I am of the kindness you have always expressed to me, and how much I desire the cultivation of that benevolence, which, perhaps, nothing but the distance between us has hindered from ripening before this time into friendship. Of myself I have very little to say, and of any body else less: let me, however, be allowed one thing, and that in my own favour; that I am,

Dear S I R,

Your most humble servant,

April 20, 1749.

SAM. JOHNSON.

L E T T E R XII.

T O D R. B I R C H.

S I R,

Gough-square, May 12, 1750.

KNOWING that you are now preparing to favour the public with a new edition of Raleigh's miscellaneous pieces, I have taken the liberty to send you a manuscript*,

* This was published by Newbery in 8vo. 1750, under the title of "The Interest of England with regard to foreign alliances explained in two Discourses. I. Concerning a match propounded by the Savoyan between the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince of Piemont. II. Touching a marriage between Prince Henry of England, and a daughter of Savoy."

which

which fell by chance within my notice. I perceive no proofs of forgery in my examination of it; and the owner tells me, that, as *he* has heard, the hand-writing is Sir Walter's: If you should find reason to conclude it genuine, it will be a kindness to the owner, a blind person *, to recommend it to the booksellers.

I am, SIR,

Your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LETTER XIII.

TO MR. ELPHINSTON.

DEAR SIR,

YOU have, as I find, by every kind of evidence, lost an excellent mother, and I hope you will not think me incapable of partaking of your grief. I have a mother now eighty-two years of age, whom therefore I must soon lose, unless it please God that she rather should mourn for me. I read the letters in which you relate your mother's death to Mrs. Strahan; and think I do myself honour when I tell you that I read them with tears; but tears are neither to me nor to you of any farther use, when once the tribute of nature has been paid. The business of life summons us away from useless grief, and calls us to the exercise of those virtues of which we are lamenting our deprivation. The greatest benefit which one friend can confer upon another, is to guard

* Mrs. Williams, probably, the person recommended to Mr. Garrick in Letter 18. N.

and

and incite, and elevate his virtues. This your mother will still perform, if you diligently preserve the memory of her life, and of her death: a life so far as I can learn, useful and wise; innocent; and a death resigned, peaceful, and holy. I cannot forbear to mention, that neither reason nor revelation denies you to hope that you may increase her happiness by obeying her precepts; and that she may, in her present state, look with pleasure, upon every act of virtue to which her instructions or example have contributed. Whether this be more than a pleasing dream, or a just opinion of separate spirits, is indeed of no great importance to us, when we consider ourselves as acting under the eye of God: yet surely there is something pleasing in the belief, that our separation from those whom we love is merely corporeal; and it may be a great incitement to virtuous friendship, if it can be made probable, that union which has received the divine approbation, shall continue to eternity.

There is one expedient, by which you may, in some degree, continue her presence. If you write down minutely what you remember of her from your earliest years, you will read it with great pleasure, and receive from it many hints of soothing recollection, when time shall remove her yet farther from you, and your grief shall be matured to veneration. To this, however painful for the present, I cannot but advise you, as to a source of comfort and satisfaction in the time to come: for all comfort and all satisfaction is sincerely wished you by,

Dear SIR,

Your most obliged, most obedient,

Sept. 25, 1750.

and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

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LETTER XIV.

TO MR. ELPHINSTON*.

DEAR SIR,

I CANNOT but confess the failure of my correspondence, but hope the same regard which you express for me, on every other occasion, will incline you to forgive me. I am often, very often ill, and when I am well, am obliged to work; but, indeed, have never much used myself to punctuality. You are, however, not to make such kind of inferences, when I forbear to reply to your kindness; for be assured, I never receive a letter from you without great pleasure, and very warm sense of your generosity and friendship, which I heartily blame myself for not cultivating with more care. In this, as in many other cases, I go wrong in opposition to conviction; for I think scarce any temporal good equally to be desired with the regard and familiarity of worthy men, and hope we shall be some time nearer to each other, and have a more ready way of pouring out our hearts.

I am glad that you still find encouragement to persevere in your publication †, and shall beg the favour of six more volumes to add to my former six, when you can, with any convenience, send them me. Please to

* Translator of Martial, Bossuet, &c. and formerly master of an academy at Kensington.

† This was of the Rambler, at Edinburgh, to which Mr. Elphinston translated the mottos.

present

present a set in my name to Mr. Ruddiman †, of whom I hear, that his learning is not his highest excellence.

I have transcribed the mottos, and returned them, I hope not too late, of which I think many very happily performed. Mr. Cave has put the last in the Magazine §, in which I think he did well. I beg of you to write soon, and to write often, and to write long letters; which I hope in time to repay you, but you must be a patient creditor. I have, however, this of gratitude, that I think of you with regard, when I do not perhaps give the proofs which I ought of piety. SIR,

Your most obliged, and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LETTER XV.

TO THE REV. DR. TAYLOR.

DEAR SIR,

LET me have your company and your instruction. Do not live away from me; my distress is great.

Pray desire Mrs. Taylor to inform me what mourning I should buy for my mother and Miss Porter, and bring a note in writing with you.

Remember me in your prayers; for vain is the help of man. I am, dear SIR, &c.

March 18, 1752.

SAM. JOHNSON.

† A very learned writer, author of several historical and philological works. He died January 1757.

§ See Gent. Mag. Oct. 1752, p. 468.

LETTER XVI.

TO DR. HUDDSFORD.

Reverendo admodum viro G. HUDDSFORD, S.T.P.
Oxoniensis academici Vice Cancellario dignissimo.

INGRATUS plane et tibi et mihi videar, nisi quanto me gaudio affecerent, quos nuper mihi honores, te credo auctore, decrevit senatus academicus, literarum, quo tamen nihil levius, officio significem: ingratus etiam, nisi comitatem, qua vir eximius * mihi vestri testimonium amoris in manus tradidit, agnoscam et laudem. Siquid est, unde rei tam gratæ accedat gratia, hoc ipso magis mihi placet, quod eo tempore in ordines academicos denuo cooptatus sim, quo tuam imminuere auctoritatem, famamque Oxoniæ lædere, omnibus modis conantur homines vafri nec tamen acuti: quibus ego, prout viro umbratico licuit, semper restiti, semper restitutus. Qui enim, inter has rerum procellas, vel tibi vel academici defuerit, illum virtuti, et literis, sibi, et posteris defuturum existimo.

S. JOHNSON.

LETTER XVII.

TO MR. WARTON.

DEAR SIR,

Feb. 1, 1755.

I WROTE to you some weeks ago, but I believe did not direct accurately, and therefore know not whe-

* Dr. King, of St. Mary Hall, who delivered the Diploma to Johnson in London.

ther

ther you had my letter. I would likewise write to your brother; but know not where to find him. I now begin to see land, after having wandered, according to Mr. *Warburton's* phrase, in this vast sea of words. What reception I shall meet with upon the shore, I know not; whether the sound of bells, and acclamations of the people, which *Ariosto* talks of in his last Canto, or a general murmur of dislike, I know not; whether I shall find, upon the coast, a *Calypso* that will court, or a *Polypheme* that will resist. But if *Polypheme* comes to me, have at his eyes. I hope, however, the criticks will let me be at peace: for though I do not much fear their skill or strength, I am a little afraid of myself; and would not willingly feel so much ill-will in my bosom as literary quarrels are apt to excite. I am in great want of *Crescimbeni*, which you may have again when you please. There is nothing considerable done or doing among us here: we are not perhaps as innocent as villagers, but most of us as idle. I hope, however, you are busy; and should be glad to know what you are doing.

I am, dear SIR, your's, &c.

SAM. JOHNSON.

LETTER XVIII.

TO DR. BIRCH.

SIR,

June 9, 1756.

HAVING obtained from Mr. Garrick a benefit for a gentlewoman * of learning, distressed by blind-

* Mrs. Williams; see p. 505.

ness,

ness, almost the only casualty that could have distressed her; I beg leave to trouble you, among my other friends, with some of her tickets. Your benevolence is well known, and was, I believe, never exerted on a more laudable occasion.

I am, SIR,

Your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

L E T T E R X I X .

T O D R . B I R C H .

SIR,

June 22, 1756.

BEING, as you will find by the proposal, engaged in a work which requires the concurrence of my friends * to make it of much benefit to me, I have taken the liberty of recommending six receipts to your care, and do not doubt of your endeavour to dispose of them.

I have likewise a further favour to beg. I know you have been long a curious collector of books. If, therefore, you have any of the contemporaries or ancestors of Shakespeare, it will be of great use to lend me them for a short time; my stock of those authors is yet but *corta supellex*.

I am, SIR,

Your obliged humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

* The edition of Shakespeare,

LETTER XX*.

TO MR. BARETTI.

SIR,

YOU reproach me very often with parsimony of writing: but you may discover by the extent of my paper, that I design to recompense rarity by length. A short letter to a distant friend is, in my opinion, an insult like that of a slight bow or cursory salutation;—a proof of unwillingness to do much, even where there is a necessity of doing something. Yet it must be remembered, that he who continues the same course of life in the same place, will have little to tell. One week and one year are very like another. The silent changes made by time are not always perceived; and if they are not perceived, cannot be recounted. I have risen and lain down, talked and mused, while you have roved over a considerable part of Europe: yet I have not envied my Baretti any of his pleasures, though perhaps I have envied others his company; and I am glad to have other nations made acquainted with the character of the English, by a traveller who has so nicely inspected our manners, and so successfully studied our literature. I received your kind letter from Falmouth, in which you gave me notice of your departure for Lisbon; and another from Lisbon, in which you told me, that you were to leave Portugal in a few days. To either of these how could any answer be returned? I have had a third from Turin, complaining that I have not answered the former. Your

* First printed in "The European Magazine for June 1787."

En. Mag.
1787

English stile still continues in its purity and vigour. With vigour your genius will supply it; but its purity must be continued by close attention. To use two languages familiarly, and without contaminating one by the other, is very difficult; and to use more than two, is hardly to be hoped. The praises which some have received for their multiplicity of languages, may be sufficient to excite industry, but can hardly generate confidence.

I know not whether I can heartily rejoice at the kind reception which you have found, or at the popularity to which you are exalted. I am willing that your merit should be distinguished, but cannot wish that your affections may be gained; I would have you happy wherever you are, yet I would have you wish to return to England. If ever you visit us again, you will find the kindness of your friends undiminished. To tell you how many enquiries are made after you would be tedious, or if not tedious, would be vain; because you may be told in a very few words, that all who knew you, wish you well; and all that you embraced at your departure, will caress you at your return: therefore do not let Italian academicians nor Italian ladies drive us from your thoughts. You may find among us what you will leave behind, soft smiles and easy sonnets. Yet I shall not wonder if all our invitations should be rejected: for there is a pleasure in being considerable at home, which is not easily resisted.

By conducting Mr. Southwell to Venice, you fulfilled, I know, the original contract: yet I would wish you not wholly to lose him from your notice, but to re-

L I

commend

commend him to such acquaintance as may best secure him from suffering by his own follies, and to take such general care both of his safety and his interest as may come within your power. His relations will thank you for any such gratuitous attention: at least they will not blame you for any evil that may happen, whether they thank you or not for any good.

K-P
 You know that we have a new king and a new parliament. Of the new parliament Fitzherbert is a member. We were so weary of our old king, that we are much pleased with his successor; of whom we are so much inclined to hope great things, that most of us begin already to believe them. The young man is hitherto blameless; but it would be unreasonable to expect much from the immaturity of juvenile years, and the ignorance of princely education. He has been long in the hands of the Scots, and has already favoured them more than the English will contentedly endure. But perhaps he scarcely knows whom he has distinguished, or whom he has disgusted.

A
 The artists have instituted a yearly exhibition of pictures and statues, in imitation, as I am told, of foreign academies. This year was the second exhibition. They please themselves much with the multitude of spectators, and imagine that the English school will rise in reputation. Reynolds is without a rival, and continues to add thousands to thousands, which he deserves, among other excellencies, by retaining his kindness for Baretta. This exhibition has filled the heads of the artists and lovers of art. Surely life, if it be not long, is tedious, since we are forced to call in the assistance of so many trifles

to rid us of our time, of that time which never can return.

I know my Baretti will not be satisfied with a letter in which I give him no account of myself: yet what account shall I give him? I have not, since the day of our separation, suffered or done any thing considerable. The only change in my way of life is, that I have frequented the theatre more than in former seasons. But I have gone thither only to escape from myself. We have had many new farces, and the comedy called *The Jealous Wife*, which, though not written with much genius, was yet so well adapted to the stage, and so well exhibited by the actors, that it was crowded for near twenty nights. I am digressing from myself to the play-house; but a barren plan must be filled with episodes. Of myself I have nothing to say, but that I have hitherto lived without the concurrence of my own judgment; yet I continue to flatter myself, that, when you return, you will find me mended. I do not wonder that, where the monastick life is permitted, every order finds votaries, and every monastery inhabitants. Men will submit to any rule, by which they may be exempted from the tyranny of caprice and of chance. They are glad to supply by external authority their own want of constancy and resolution, and court the government of others, when long experience has convinced them of their own inability to govern themselves. If I were to visit Italy, my curiosity would be more attracted by convents than by palaces; though I am afraid that I should find expectation in both places equally disappointed, and life in both places supported with impatience, and quit-

ted with reluctance. That it must be so soon quitted, is a powerful remedy against impatience; but what shall free us from reluctance? Those who have endeavoured to teach us to die well, have taught few to die willingly; yet I cannot but hope that a good life might end at last in a contented death.

You see to what a train of thought I am drawn by the mention of myself. Let me now turn my attention upon you. I hope you take care to keep an exact journal, and to register all occurrences and observations; for your friends here expect such a book of travels as has not been often seen. You have given us good specimens in your letters from Lisbon. I wish you had staid longer in Spain, for no country is less known to the rest of Europe; but the quickness of your discernment must make amends for the celerity of your motions. He that knows which way to direct his views, sees much in a little time.

Write to me very often, and I will not neglect to write to you; and I may perhaps in time get something to write: at least, you will know by my letters, whatever else they may have or want, that I continue to be

Your most affectionate friend,

London, June 10, 1761.

SAM. JOHNSON.



LETTER

L E T T E R XXI.

T O L O R D E L I B A N K.

M Y L O R D,

ON the rugged shore of Skie, I had the honour of your Lordship's letter, and can with great truth declare, that no place is so gloomy but that it would be cheared by such a testimony of regard, from a mind so well qualified to estimate characters, and to deal out approbation in its due proportions. If I have more than my share, it is your Lordship's fault; for I have always revered your judgment too much, to exalt myself in your presence by any false pretensions.

Mr. Boswell and I are at present at the disposal of the winds, and therefore cannot fix the time at which we shall have the honour of seeing your Lordship. But we should either of us think ourselves injured by the supposition that we would miss your Lordship's conversation, when we could enjoy it; for I have often declared, that I never met you without going away a wiser man.

I am, M Y L O R D,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

Skie, Sept. 14, 1773.

and most humble servant,

S A M. J O H N S O N.

LETTER XXII.

TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLE.

MY LORD,

THAT kindness which disposed your Grace to supply me with the horse, which I have now returned, will make you pleased to hear that he has carried me well.

By my diligence in the little commission with which I was honoured by the Duchess, I will endeavour to shew how highly I value the favours which I have received, and how much I desire to be thought,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's most obedient,

Rosedow, Oct. 29, 1773. and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LETTER XXIII.

TO THE LAIRD OF RASAY.

DEAR SIR,

MR. BOSWELL has this day shewn me a letter, in which you complain of a passage in "the Journey to the Hebrides." My meaning is mistaken. I did not intend to say that you had personally made any cession of the rights of your house, or any acknowledgment of the superiority of M^cLeod of Dunvegan. I only designed to express what I thought generally admitted

mitted—that the house of Rafay allowed the superiority of the house of Dunvegan. Even this I now find to be erroneous, and will therefore omit or retract it in the next edition.

Though what I had said had been true, if it had been disagreeable to you, I should have wished it unsaid; for it is not my business to adjust precedence. As it is mistaken, I find myself disposed to correct it, both by my respect for you, and my reverence for truth.

As I know not when the book will be reprinted, I have desired Mr. Boswell to anticipate the correction in the Edinburgh Papers *. This is all that can be done.

I hope I may now venture to desire that my compliments may be made, and my gratitude expressed, to Lady Rafay, Mr. Malcolm, M^cLeod, M^cDonald, M^cQueen, and all the Gentlemen and all the Ladies whom I saw in the Island of Rafay; a place which I remember with too much pleasure and too much kindness, not to be sorry that my ignorance, or hasty persuasion, should for a single moment, have violated its tranquillity.

I beg you all to forgive an undesigned and involuntary injury, and to consider me as, SIR,

Your most obliged, and

London, May 6, 1775.

most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

* The following was Dr. Johnson's Advertisement.—The author of *The Journey to the Western Islands* having related that the M^cLeods of Rafay acknowledge the chieftainship or superiority of the M^cLeods of Skie, finds that he has been misinformed or mistaken. He means in a future edition to correct his error, and wishes to be told of more, if more have been discovered.

L E T T E R XXIV.

To ———.

SIR,

London, 7th July, 1777.

TO the Collection of English Poets I have recommended the volume of Dr. Watts to be added. His name has been long held by me in *veneration*; and I would not willingly be reduced to tell of him, only, that he was born and died. Yet, of his life I know very little; and therefore must pass him in a manner very unworthy of his character, unless some of his friends will favour me with the necessary information. Many of them must be known to you; and by your influence perhaps I may obtain some instruction. My plan does not exact much; but I wish to distinguish *Watts*; a man who never wrote but for a good purpose. Be pleased to do for me what you can.

I am, SIR,

Your humble servant,

SAM JOHNSON.

L E T T E R XXV.

To MR. ELPHINSTON,

SIR,

HAVING myself suffered what you are now suffering, I well know the weight of your distress, how
much

much need you have of comfort, and how little comfort can be given. A loss, such as yours, lacerates the mind, and breaks the whole system of purposes and hopes. It leaves a dismal vacuity in life, which affords nothing on which the affections can fix, or to which endeavour may be directed. All this I have known, and it is now, in the vicissitude of things, your turn to know it.

But in the condition of mortal beings, one must lose another. What would be the wretchedness of life, if there was not something always in view, some Being, immutable and unfailing, to whose mercy man may have recourse. *Τὸν πρῶτον χερύλα ἀκινῆλον.*

Here we must rest. The greatest Being is the most benevolent. We must not grieve for the dead as men without hope, because we know they are in his hands. We have, indeed, not leisure to grieve long, because we are hastening to follow them. Your race and mine have been interrupted by many obstacles, but we must humbly hope for an happy end.

I am, SIR,

Your most humble servant,

July 27, 1778.

SAM. JOHNSON.

L E T T E R XXVI.

To MR. ALLEN*,

SIR,

MR. WILLIAM SHAW, the Gentleman from whom you will receive this, is a studious and literary

* Vicar of St. Nicholas, Rochester,

man;

man; he is a stranger, and will be glad to be introduced into proper company; and he is my friend, and any civility you shall shew him will be an obligation on,

SIR,

1780.

Your most obedient Servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

L E T T E R XXVII.

To ————

DEAR SIR,

NOT many days ago Dr. L. shewed me a letter, in which you make kind mention of me; I hope therefore you will not be displeased that I endeavour to preserve your good will by some observations which your letter suggested to me.

You are afraid of falling into some improprieties in the daily service, by reading to an audience that requires no exactness. Your fear, I hope, secures you from danger. They who contract absurd habits, are such as have no fear. It is impossible to do the same thing very often without some peculiarity of manner; but that manner may be good or bad, and a little care will at least preserve it from being bad; to make it very good, there must, I think, be something of natural or casual felicity which cannot be taught.

Your present method of making your sermons seems very judicious. Few frequent preachers can be supposed

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posed to have sermons more their own than your's will be. Take care to register somewhere or other the authors from whom your several discourses are borrowed; and do not imagine that you shall always remember even what perhaps you now think it impossible to forget.

My advice however is, that you attempt from time to time an original sermon, and in the labour of composition do not burden your mind with too much at once; do not exact from yourself at one effort of excogitation propriety of thought and elegance of expression. Invent first, and then embellish. The production of something, where nothing was before, is an act of greater energy than the expansion or decoration of the thing produced. Set down diligently your thoughts as they rise in the first words that occur, and when you have matter you will easily give it form; nor perhaps will this method be always necessary, for by habit your thoughts and diction will flow together.

The composition of sermons is not very difficult: the divisions not only help the memory of the hearer, but direct the judgment of the writer; they supply sources of invention, and keep every part in its proper place.

What I like least in your letter is your account of the manners of the parish; from which I gather that it has been long neglected by the parson. The Dean of Carlisle *, who was then a little rector in Northamptonshire, told me that it might be discerned whether or no there was a clergyman resident in a parish, by the civil or savage manners of the people. Such a congregation as yours stand in much need of reformation; and I would not have you think it impossible to reform them. A

* Now Bishop of Dromore.

very

To Percy, now (Earl of)

A t note
 very savage parish was civilized by a decayed gentlewoman, who came among them to teach a petty school. My learned friend, Dr. Wheeler, of Oxford, when he was a young man, had the care of a neighbouring parish for fifteen pounds a year, which he was never paid; but he counted it a convenience that it compelled him to make a sermon weekly. One woman he could not bring to the communion; and when he reproved or exhorted her, she only answered that she was no scholar. He was advised to set some good woman or man of the parish, a little wiser than herself, to talk to her in language level to her mind. Such honest, I may call them holy artifices, must be practised by every clergyman, for all means must be tried by which souls may be saved. Talk to your people, however, as much as you can, and you will find that the more frequently you converse with them upon religious subjects, the more willingly they will attend, and the more submissively they will learn. A clergyman's diligence always makes him venerable. I think I have now only to say, that in the momentous work that you have undertaken I pray God to bless you.

I am, SIR,

Your most humble servant,

Bolt-court, Aug. 30, 1780.

SAM. JOHNSON.

LETTER

LETTER XXVIII.

TO THE HON. WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF BENGAL.

SIR,

AMIDST the importance and multiplicity of affairs in which your great office engages you, I take the liberty of recalling your attention for a moment to literature, and will not prolong the interruption by an apology, which your character makes needless.

Mr. Hoole, a gentleman long known and long esteemed in the India-House, after having translated Tasso, has undertaken Ariosto. How well he is qualified for his undertaking, he has already shewn. He is desirous, Sir, of your favour in promoting his proposals, and flatters me by supposing that my testimony may advance his interest.

It is a new thing for a clerk of the India-House to translate poets.—It is new for a Governor of Bengal to patronize learning. That he may find his ingenuity rewarded, and that learning may flourish under your protection, is the wish of,

SIR,

Your most humble servant,

Jan. 9, 1781.

SAM. JOHNSON.

LETTER

L E T T E R XXIX.
T O D R. L A W R E N C E.

S I R,

Jan. 17, 1782.

OUR old friend Mr. Levett, who was last night eminently chearful, died this morning. The man who lay in the same room hearing an uncommon noise got up, tried to make him speak, but without effect. He then called Mr. Holder, the apothecary, who, though when he came he thought him dead, opened a vein, but could draw no blood. So has ended the long life of a very useful and very blameless man.

I am, S I R,

Your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

L E T T E R XXX.
T O D R. J O H N S O N.

S I R,

Bath, May 4, 1782.

CONSCIOUS of the motive from which I write, and trusting that it will readily and clearly appear; I shall leave it to plead my excuse for the trouble I may hereby give you. Without farther preface, therefore, I take the liberty to inform you, that, in the Morning Chronicle of Dec. 12 last, a person, in the character of

a master of an academy, recommended the "Beauties of your Writings," a book published last year, to all persons who have the care of youth, as well calculated to convey at once both pleasure and instruction, particularly to young minds. However, he pointed out one passage in it, under the article DEATH, which, he said, is supposed by some readers to recommend suicide; but, knowing your principles too well to join in this opinion, he hoped you would favour the public, through the channel of the same paper, with an explanation, which will effectually remove so erroneous an idea. The passage is as follows: "To die, is the fate of man; but to die with lingering anguish is generally his folly."

I confess, I have joined in the wish of the letter-writer, but have not had the pleasure of seeing it gratified. Possibly the letter has not come to your knowledge, and therefore I take this method of acquainting you with it; or probably the passage, when taken with the context, loses its exceptionable appearance. I own, I do not recollect my having met with it in any of your works, though I cannot but suppose it is to be found there, and on that account you may have thought it unnecessary to give it any farther explanation. Whatever may be the cause of your not having taken any notice of the letter, I cannot be satisfied whilst any thing, which has the sanction of your name, even appears, uncontroverted, to recommend suicide; whilst the acknowledged friend of Religion and Virtue is supposed, uncontradicted, to have published any sentiment inconsistent with the Christian Religion. I shall still hope, therefore, that you will not think your time mis-spent by publicly removing

moving this, possibly, "stone of stumbling," this, as it appears, "rock of offence;" especially as your silence may tend to confirm the opinion of those who understand the passage in this very unfavourable sense: and if you shall think this deserving of your private notice, you will thereby confer an honour, as well as an obligation on,

S I R,

Your obedient humble servant, &c.

To Dr. Johnson, &c.

L E T T E R XXXI.

To ————

S I R,

May 15, 1782.

BEING now in the country in a state of recovery, as I hope, from a very oppressive disorder, I cannot neglect the acknowledgment of your Christian letter. The book, called "The Beauties of J——n," is the production of I know not whom; I never saw it but by casual inspection, and considered myself as utterly disengaged from its consequences. Of the passage you mention I remember some notice in some paper; but, knowing that it must be misrepresented, I thought of it no more, nor do I now know where to find it in my own books. I am accustomed to think little of news-papers; but an opinion so weighty and serious as yours has determined

terminated me to do, what I should, without your seasonable admonition, have omitted; and I will direct my thought to be shewn in its true state. If I could find the passage, I would direct you to it. I suppose the tenor is this: "Acute diseases are the immediate and inevitable strokes of Heaven; but of them the pain is short, and the conclusion speedy: chronical disorders, by which we are suspended in tedious torture between life and death, are commonly the effect of our own misconduct and intemperance. To die," &c. This, Sir, you see is all true, and all blameless. I hope, some time in the next week, to have all rectified. My health has been lately much shaken; if you favour this with any answer, it will be a comfort to me to know that I have your prayers.

I am, S I R,

Your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

To the Rev. Mr. —, at Bath.

L E T T E R XXXII.

T O D R. J O H N S O N.

S I R,

Bath, May 18, 1782.

I AM to acknowledge and thank you for your favour of the 15th; and I am happy to find, that you think the business on which I wrote to you not undeserving

M m

your

your attention. The sentiment, as you have prefaced and explained it, as I doubted not would be the case, is quite unexceptionable.

I am glad to find that you are better than you have been, and on the recovery. Indeed, I should be wanting in gratitude, as well as benevolence and charity, if you had not, in return for the great pleasure I have received from your writings, my best wishes and prayers; and particularly, as my last and best, that, when the period of the present state of your existence shall approach, you may have a short and easy passage from this life to that in which good men "rest from their labours, and their works follow them."

I am, S I R,

With great esteem, your obliged
and obedient humble servant, &c.

To Dr. Johnson, &c.

The following appeared in the MORNING CHRONICLE
of May 29, 1782.

A correspondent having mentioned, in the Morning Chronicle of Dec. 12, the last clause of the following paragraph, as seeming to favour suicide; we are requested to print the whole passage, that its true meaning may appear, which is not to recommend suicide, but exercise.

"Exercise cannot secure us from that dissolution to which we are decreed; but, while the soul and body continue united, it can make the association pleasing, and give probable hopes that they shall be disjoined by

an easy separation. It was a principle among the ancients, that acute diseases are from heaven, and chronic from ourselves; the dart of death indeed falls from heaven, but we poison it by our own misconduct: to die is the fate of man; but to die with lingering anguish is generally his folly." Vide RAMBLER, vol. II. N° 85.

LETTER XXXIII.

TO MR. NICHOLS.

SIR,

Oct. 10, 1782.

WHILE I am at Brighthelmstone, if you have any need of consulting me, Mr. Strahan will do us the favour to transmit our papers under his frank. I have looked often into your "Anecdotes," and you will hardly thank a lover of literary history for telling you, that he has been informed and gratified. I wish you would add your own discoveries and intelligence to those of Dr. Rawlinson, and undertake the Supplement to Wood. Think on it*.

I am, SIR,

Your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

* In a subsequent letter, dated Oct. 28, Dr. Johnson adds, "I wish, Sir, you could obtain some fuller information of Jortin, Markland, and Thirlby. They were three contemporaries of great eminence."

LETTER XXXIV.

TO THE REV. MR. WILSON, CLITHEROE,
LANCASHIRE.

REV. SIR, *Bolt-court, Fleet-street, London,*
Dec. 31, 1782.

THAT I have so long omitted to return you thanks for the honour conferred upon me by your Dedication, I entreat you with great earnestness not to consider it as more faulty than it is. A very importunate and oppressive disorder has for some time debarred me from the pleasures, and obstructed me in the duties of life. The esteem and kindness of wise and good men is one of the last pleasures which I can be content to lose; and gratitude to those from whom this pleasure is received, is a duty of which I hope never to be reproached with the final neglect.

“ eminence.” It was in consequence of this request that I drew up the account of Thirlby, which is printed in the Magazine for April 1784, p. 260; which having been shewn to Dr. Johnson in the state of a proof sheet, he added to it nearly half of what is there printed. The Doctor’s MS. is now before me, and begins with “ What I can tell of Thirlby, I had from those who knew him; I never saw him in my life.” The communication concludes with “ This is what I can remember.” I will take this opportunity of adding, that, on my shewing Dr. Johnson the “ Remarks on his Life of Milton,” which were published in 8vo. 1780, he wrote on the margin of p. 14, “ In the business of Lauder, I was deceived; partly by thinking the man too frantick to be fraudulent. Of this quotation from the [“ Literary] Magazine [“ a POETICAL SCALE”], “ I was not the author. I fancy it was put in after I had quitted that work; for I not only did not write it, but do not remember it.” J. N.

I there-

I therefore now return you thanks for the notice which I have received from you, and which I consider as giving to my name not only more bulk, but more weight; not only as extending its superficies, but as encreasing its value.

Your book was evidently wanted, and will, I hope, find its way into the schools; to which, however, I do not mean to confine it; for no man has so much skill in ancient rites and practices as not to want it.

As I suppose myself to owe part of your kindness to my excellent friend Dr. Patten, he has likewise a just claim to my acknowledgments, which I hope you, Sir, will transmit.

There will soon appear a new Edition of my Poetical Biography. If you will accept of a copy to keep me in your mind, be pleased to let me know how it may be conveniently conveyed to you. The present is small, but it is given with good-will by,

REVEREND SIR,

Your most obliged and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

L E T T E R XXXV.

T O M R. N I C H O L S.

S I R,

Jan. 10, 1783.

I am much obliged by your kind communication of your account of Hinckley *. I knew Mr. Carte as one

* For this work Dr. Johnson had contributed several hints towards the life of Anthony Blackwall, to whom, when very young, he had been some time an usher at Market Bosworth-school. Blackwall died in April 1730, before Johnson was one and twenty. J. N.

of the Prebendaries of Litchfield, and for some time Surrogate of the Chancellor. Now I will put you in a way of shewing me more kindness. I have been confined by illness a long time; and sickness and solitude make tedious evenings. Come sometimes, and see,

SIR,

Your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LETTER XXXVI.

TO DR. TAYLOR.

DEAR SIR,

IT has pleased God by a paralytic stroke in the night to deprive me of speech.

I am very desirous of Dr. Heberden's assistance, as I think my case is not past remedy. Let me see you as soon as it is possible. Bring Dr. Heberden with you, if you can; but come yourself at all events. I am glad you are so well, when I am so dreadfully attacked.

I think that by a speedy application of stimulants much may be done. I question if a vomit, vigorous and rough, would not cause the organs of speech to action. As it is too early to send, I will try to recollect what I can that can be suspected to have brought on this dreadful distress.

I have

I have been accustomed to bleed frequently for an asthmatic complaint; but have forborn for some time by Dr. Pepys's persuasion, who perceived my legs beginning to swell.

I sometimes alleviate a painful, or more properly an oppressive constriction of my chest by opiates, and have lately taken opium frequently; but the last or two last times in smaller quantities. My largest dose is three grains, and last night I took but two.

You will suggest these things, and they are all that I can call to mind, to Dr. Heberden.

I am, &c.

June 17, 1783.

SAM. JOHNSON.

L E T T E R XXXVII.

To MR. ALLEN.

DEAR SIR,

IT hath pleased Almighty God this morning to deprive me of the powers of speech; and as I do not know but that it might be his further good pleasure to deprive me soon of my senses, I request you will, on the receipt of this note, come to me, and act for me, as the exigencies of my case may require.

I am sincerely your's,

S. JOHNSON.

M m 4

, LETTER

LETTER XXXVIII.

TO THE REV. DR. TAYLOR, ASHBOURN,
DERBYSHIRE.

DEAR SIR,

WHAT can be the reason that I hear nothing from you? I hope nothing disables you from writing. What I have seen, and what I have felt, gives me reason to fear every thing. Do not omit giving me the comfort of knowing, that after all my losses I have got a friend left.

I want every comfort. My life is very solitary and very cheerless. Though it has pleased God wonderfully to deliver me from the dropsy: I am yet very weak, and have not passed the door since the 13th of December. I hope for some help from warm weather, which will surely come in time.

I could not have the consent of the Physicians to go to Church yesterday; I therefore received the Holy Sacrament at home, in the room where I communicated with dear Mrs. Williams, a little before her death. O, my friend, the approach of death is very dreadful. I am afraid to think on that which I know I cannot avoid. It is vain to look round and round, for that help which cannot be had. Yet, we hope and hope, and fancy that he who has lived to-day may live to-morrow. But let us learn to derive our hope only from God,

In

In the mean time, let us be kind to one another. I have no friend now living but you and Mr. Hektor, that was the friend of my youth. Do not neglect,

DEAR SIR,

*London,
Easter-Monday,
April 12, 1784.*

Your's affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LETTER XXXIX.

TO LORD CHANCELLOR THURLOW.

MY LORD,

AFTER a long and not inattentive observation on mankind, the generosity of your Lordship's offer raises in me no less wonder than gratitude. Bounty so liberally bestowed I should gladly receive if my condition made it necessary; for to such a mind who would not be proud to own his obligation? But it hath pleased God to restore me to such a measure of health, that if I should now appropriate so much of a fortune destined to do good, I could not escape from myself the charge of advancing a false claim. My journey to the continent, though I once thought it necessary, was never much encouraged by my physicians, and I was very desirous that your Lordship should be told of it by Sir Joshua Reynolds as an event very uncertain; for if I should grow much better

ter I should not be willing, and if much worse, I should not be able to migrate.

Your Lordship was first solicited without my knowledge; but when I was told that you was pleased to honour me with your patronage, I did not expect to hear of a refusal; yet as I have had no long time to brood hope, and have not rioted in imaginary opulence, this cold reception has been scarce a disappointment; and from your Lordship's kindness I have received a benefit which men like you are able to bestow. I shall now live *mibi carior*, with a higher opinion of my own merit.

I am, my LORD,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

Most grateful,

And most humble servant,

S. JOHNSON.

To the Right Honourable
the Lord Chancellor,
Sept. 1784.

LETTER XL.

TO MR. NICHOLS.

SIR,

Litchfield, Oct. 20, 1784.

WHEN you were here, you were pleased, as I am told, to think my absence an inconvenience. I should certainly have been very glad to give so skilful a Lover
of

of Antiquities any information about my native place, of which however I know not much, and have reason to believe that not much is known.

Though I have not given you any amusement, I have received amusement from you. At Ashbourne, where I had very little company, I had the luck to borrow "Mr. Bowyer's Life," a book so full of contemporary history, that a literary man must find some of his old friends. I thought that I could now and then have told you some hints worth your notice; and perhaps we may talk a life over. I hope we shall be much together. You must now be to me what you were before, and what dear Mr. Allen was besides. He was taken unexpectedly away, but I think he was a very good man.

I have made little progress in recovery. I am very weak, and very sleepless; but I live on, and hope.

I am, SIR,

Your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

L E T T E R XLI.

TO MR. NICHOLS.

SIR,

THE late learned Mr. Swinton of Oxford having one day remarked that one man, meaning, I suppose,

no

no man but himself, could assign all the parts of the Ancient Universal History to their proper authors; at the request of Sir Robert Chambers *, or of myself, gave the account which I now transmit to you in his own hand, being willing that of so great a work the history should be known, and that each writer should receive his due proportion of praise from posterity.

I recommend to you to preserve this scrap of literary intelligence in Mr. Swinton's own hand, or to deposit it in the Museum, that the veracity of this account may never be doubted.

I am, SIR,

Dec. 6, 1784.

Your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Mr. S——n.

The History of the Carthaginians.

————— Numidians.

————— Mauritians.

————— Gætulians.

————— Garamantes.

————— Melano Gætulians.

————— Nigritæ.

————— Cyrenaica.

————— Marmarica.

————— The Regio Syrtica.

————— Turks, Tartars, and Moguls.

————— Indians.

————— Chinese.

* Now a Judge in India.

The History of the Dissertation on the Peopling of
America.

on the Independency of
the Arabs.

The Cosmogony, and a small part of the history immediately following. By Mr. Sale.

To the Birth of Abraham. Chiefly by Mr. Shelvock.

History of the Jews, Gauls, and Spaniards. By Mr.
Pfalmanazar. GM

Xenophon's Retreat. By the same.

History of the Persians, and the Constantinopolitan Empire. By Dr. Campbell.

History of the Romans. By Mr. Bower.

E P I T A P H S.

AT LITCHFIELD.

H. S. E.

MICHAEL JOHNSON.

VIR impavidus constans, animosus, periculorum immemor, laborum patientissimus; fiduciâ Christianâ fortis, fervidusque; Paterfamilias apprimè strenuus; Bibliopola admodum peritus; mente et libris et negotiis exulta; animo ita firmo, ut, rebus adversis diu confectus, nec sibi nec suis defuerit: Lingua sic temperata, ut ei nihil quod aures vel pias vel castas læsisset, aut dolor vel voluptas unquam expresserit.

Natus Cubleizæ in agro Derbienti, anno MDCLVI, obiit MDCCXXXI.

Apposita

Apposita est SARA Conjux.

Antiqua FORDORUM gente oriunda: quam domi sedulam, foris paucis notam; nulli molestant, mentis acumine et judicii subtilitate præcellentem; aliis multum, sibi parum indulgentem: Æternitati semper attentam, omne fere Virtutis nomen commendavit.

Nata Nortoniæ Regis, in agro Varvicensi, anno MDCLXIX; obiit MDCCLIX.

Cum NATHANAELE illorum filio, qui natus MDCCXII, cum vires et animi et corporis multa pollicerentur, anno MDCCXXXVII, vitam brevem pia morte finivit.

IN BROMLEY CHURCH.

Hic conduntur reliquæ

ELIZABETHÆ

Antiqua JARVISIORUM gente

Peatlingæ, apud Leicestrensis, ortæ;

Formosæ, cultæ, ingeniosæ, piæ;

Uxoris, primis nuptiis, HENRICI PORTER,

secundis, SAMUELIS JOHNSON,

Qui multum amatam, diuque desietam,

Hoc lapide contextit.

Obijt Londini, mense Mart.

A. D. MDCCLIII.

IN WATFORD CHURCH.

In the vault below are deposited the remains of
JANE BELL, wife of JOHN BELL, Esq;
who in the fifty third year of her age,
surrounded with many worldly blessings,
heard, with fortitude and composure truly great,
the horrible malady, which had for some time begun to
afflict her,
pronounced incurable;
and for more than three years,
endured with patience and concealed with decency,
the daily tortures of gradual death;
continued to divide the hours not allotted to devotion,
between the cares of her family, and the converse of
her friends;
rewarded the attendance of duty,
and acknowledged the offices of affection;
and while she endeavoured to alleviate by cheerfulness,
her husband's sufferings and sorrows,
increased them by her gratitude for his care,
and her solicitude for his quiet.
To the testimony of these virtues,
more highly honoured as more familiarly known,
this monument is erected by
JOHN BELL *.

* She died in October, 1771.

IN STRETHAM CHURCH.

Juxta sepulta est HESTERA MARIA
 Thomæ Cotton de Combermere baronetti Cestriensis filia,
 Johannis Salusbury armigeri Flintiensis uxor
 Forma felix, felix ingenio;
 Omnibus jucunda, suorum amantissima.
 Linguis artibusque ita exulta
 Ut loquenti nunquam deessent
 Sermonis nitor, sententiarum flosculi,
 Sapientiæ gravitas, leporum gratia:
 Modum servandi adeo perita,
 Ut domestica inter negotia literis oblectaretur.
 Literarum inter delicias, rem familiarem sedulo curaret,
 Multis illi multos annos precantibus
 diri carcinomatis veneno contabuit,
 nexibus que vitæ paulatim resolutis,
 e terris—méliora sperans—emigravit.
 Nata 1707. Nupta 1739. Obiit 1773.

Paraphrased by MR. MURPHY.

Near this place
 are deposited the remains of
 Hester Maria,
 the Daughter of Sir Thomas Cotton, of Combermere
 in the county Cheshire, Bart. the wife of
 John Salusbury,
 of the county of Flint, Esquire. She was born in the
 year 1707, married in 1739, and died in 1773.
 A pleasing

A pleasing form, where every grace combin'd,
 With genius blest, a pure enlighten'd mind;
 Benevolence on all that smiles bestow'd,
 A heart that for her friends with love o'erflow'd:
 In language skill'd, by science form'd to please,
 Her mirth was wit, her gravity was ease.
 Graceful in all, the happy mein she knew,
 Which e'en to virtue gives the limits due;
 Whate'er employ'd her, that she seem'd to chuse,
 Her house, her friends, her business, or the Muse.
 Admir'd and lov'd, the theme of general praise,
 All to such virtue wish'd a length of days:
 But sad reverse! with slow consuming pains,
 Th' envenom'd cancer revell'd in her veins;
 Prey'd on her spirits—stole each power away;
 Gradual she sunk, yet smiling in decay:
 She smil'd in hope, by sore afflictions try'd,
 And in that hope the pious Christian died.

I N WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

Olivarii Goldsmith,
 Poetæ, Physici, Historici,
 Qui nullum fere scribendi genus
 Non tetigit
 Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit:
 Sive risus essent movendi,
 Sive lacrimæ,
 Affectuum potens at lenis dominator:
 N n Ingenio

Ingenio sublimis, vividus, versatilis,
 Oratione grandis, nitidus, venustus :
 Hoc monumento memoriam coluit
 Sodalium amor,
 Amicorum fides,
 Lectorum veneratio.

Elfiniæ in Hibernia natus MDCCXXIX.
 Eblanæ literis institutus :
 Londini Obiit MDCCCLXXIV.

IN STRETHAM CHURCH.

Hic conditur quod reliquum est
 Henrici Thrale,
 Qui res seu civiles, seu domesticas, ita egit,
 Ut vitam illi longiorem multi optarent,
 Ita sacras,
 Ut quam brevem esset habiturus præscire videretur ;
 Simplex, apertus, sibi que semper similis,
 Nihil ostentavit aut arte fictum, aut cura
 elaboratum.
 In senatu, Regi patriæque
 Fideliter studuit ;
 Vulgi obstrepentis contempor animosus,
 Domi inter mille mercaturæ negotia
 Literarum elegantiam minimè neglexit.
 Amicis quocunque modo laborantibus,
 Conciliis, auctoritate, muneribus, adfuit.

Inter

Inter familiares, comites, convivas, hospites.

Tam facili fuit morum suavitate

Ut omnium animos ad se alliceret;

Tam felici sermonis libertate,

Ut nulli adulatus, omnibus placeret.

Natus 1724. Obiit 1781.

Confortes tumuli habet Rodolphum patrem, strenuum
fortemque virum, et Henricum filium unicum quem
spei parentum mors inopina decennem proripuit.

Ita

Domus felix et opulenta quam erexit

Avus auxitque pater cum nepote decidit.

Abi Viator

Et vicibus rerum humanarum perspectis,

Æternitatem cogita!

P O E M S.

Translation of DRYDEN'S EPIGRAM ON MILTON.

Quos laudet vates, Græcus, Romanus, et Anglus,

Tres tria temporibus secla dedere suis.

Sublime ingenium Græcus; Romanus habebat

Carmen grande sonans; Anglus utrumque tulit.

Nil majus Natura capit: clarare priores

Quæ potuere duos tertius unus habet.

EPILOGUE TO THE CARMEN
SECULARE OF HORACE.

Performed at FREEMASON'S-HALL.

QUÆ fausta Romæ dixit Horatius,
Hæc fausta vobis dicimus, Angliæ
Opes, triumphos, et subacti
Imperium pelagi precantes.

SUCH strains as, mingled with the lyre,
Could Rome with future greatness fire,
Ye sons of England, deign to hear,
Nor think our wishes less sincere.

May ye the varied blessings share
Of plenteous peace and prosp'rous war;
And o'er the globe extend your reign,
Unbounded masters of the main.

Translation of a WELCH EPITAPH (in HER-
BERT'S TRAVELS) on Prince MADOCK.

INCLYTUS hic hæres magni requiescit Oeni,
Confessus tantum mente manuque patrem;
Servilem tuti cultum contempsit agelli,
Et petiit terras per freta longa novas.

ODE

O D E T O F R I E N D S H I P *.

Friendship, peculiar gift of heaven,
 The noble mind's delight and pride,
 To Men and Angels only given,
 To all the lower world deny'd :

While love, unknown among the blest,
 Parent of rage and hot desires,
 The human and the savage breast
 Inflames alike with equal fires.

With bright but oft destructive gleam,
 Alike o'er all his lightnings fly,
 Thy lambent glories only beam
 Around the fav'rites of the sky.

Thy gentle flows of guiltless joys
 On fools and villains ne'er descend ;
 In vain for thee the monarch sighs
 And hugs a flatt'rer for a friend.

When virtues kindred virtues meet,
 And sister souls together join,
 Thy pleasures, permanent as great,
 Are all transporting, all divine.

Oh ! shall thy flames then cease to glow
 When souls to happier climes remove ?
 What rais'd our virtue here below,
 Shall aid our happiness above.

* First printed in the Gent. Mag. 1743. Afterwards in Mrs. Williams's Miscellanies, and again in the Gent. Mag. 1785, with Dr. Johnson's name annexed.

SCHEME for the CLASSES of a GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

WHEN the introduction, or formation of nouns and verbs, is perfectly mastered, let them learn

Corderius by Mr. Clarke, beginning at the same time to translate out of the introduction, that by this means they may learn the syntax. Then let them proceed to,

Erasmus, with an English translation, by the same author.

Class II. Learns Eutropius and Cornelius Nepos, or Justin, with the translation.

N. B. The first class gets for their part every morning the rules which they have learned before, and in the afternoon learns the Latin rules of the nouns and verbs.

They are examined in the rules which they have learned every Thursday and Saturday.

The second class doth the same whilst they are in Eutropius; afterwards their part is in the irregular nouns and verbs, and in the rules for making and scanning verses. They are examined as the first.

Class III. Ovid's Metamorphoses in the morning, and Cæsar's Commentaries in the afternoon.

Part is in the Latin rules till they are perfect in them, afterwards in Mr. Leeds's Greek Grammar. Examined as before.

Afterwards they proceed to Virgil, beginning at the same time to write themes and verses, and to learn Greek; from thence passing on to Horace, &c. as shall seem most proper.

I know not well what books to direct you to, because you have not informed me what study you will apply yourself to. I believe it will be most for your advantage to apply yourself wholly to the languages, till you go to the University. The Greek authors I think it best for you to read are these :

Cebes.	}	Attic.
Ælian.		
Lucian by Leeds.		
Xenophon.		
Homer.		Ionic.
Theocritus.		Doric.
Euripides.		Attic and Doric.

Thus you will be tolerably skilled in all the dialects, beginning with the Attic, to which the rest must be referred.

In the study of Latin, it is proper not to read the later authors, till you are well versed in those of the purest ages; as Terence, Tully, Cæsar, Sallust, Nepos, Velleius Paterculus, Virgil, Horace, Phædrus.

The greatest and most necessary task still remains, to attain a habit of expression, without which knowledge is of little use. This is necessary in Latin, and more necessary in English: and can only be acquired by a daily imitation of the best and correctest authors.



GENERAL RULES of the ESSEX-HEAD CLUB,
commenced the 10th of DECEMBER, 1783.

" To day deep thoughts with me resolve to drench

" In mirth—which after no repenting draws." MILTON.

I. THE Club shall consist of twenty-four members. The meetings shall be on the Monday, Wednesday *, and Saturday, of every week; but on the *week before Easter-day* there shall be no meeting.

II. Every member is at liberty to introduce a friend once in a week, but not oftner.

III. Two members shall oblige themselves to attend in their turn every night from eight to ten o'clock, or procure two to attend in their room.

IV. Every member present at the Club shall spend at least *six-pence*; and every man who stays away, shall forfeit *three-pence*.

V. The master of the house shall keep an account of the absent members, and deliver to the president of the night a list of the forfeits incurred.

VI. When any member returns after absence, he shall immediately lay down his forfeits; which if he omits to do, the president shall require them of him.

VII. There shall be no general reckoning, but every member shall adjust his own expences.

VIII. The night of indispensable attendance will come to every member once a month. Whoever shall for three months together omit to attend himself, or by sub-

* Several of the members being fellows of the Royal Society, this night was afterwards changed to Thursday, for their convenience.

stitution—nor shall make any apology on the fourth month, shall be considered as having abdicated the Club.

IX. When a vacancy is to be filled, the name of the candidate, and of the member recommending him, shall stand in the Club-room three nights: on the fourth he may be chosen by ballot, six members at least being present, and two-thirds of the ballot being in his favour, or the majority, should the numbers not be divisible by three.

X. The master of the house shall give notice, six days before, to each of those members whose turn of necessary attendance is come.

The notice may be in these words: [“ Sir, On ——— the ——— of ——— will be your turn of presiding at the Essex-head; your company is therefore earnestly requested.”]

One penny shall be left by each member for the waiter.

NIGHTLY RULES of the ESSEX-HEAD CLUB.

I. The president will collect *seven-pence* from each member at his entrance, marking his attendance thus V; and *three-pence* for every preceding night which is not marked against his name in the book thus V.

II. The forfeits to be paid over to the landlord. The seven-pence to be considered as part of each member's distinct reckoning.

III. Two letters of notice are to be forwarded each night, by the Penny-post, to the presidents of that day seven-night, as by list of the members.

IV. When the forfeits are paid, they should be noted in the book thus W.

LETTER

L E T T E R

O N

611. **DU HALDE'S HISTORY OF CHINA, 1738.**

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r/ **T**HERE are few nations in the world, more talked of, or less known, than the *Chinese*. The confused and imperfect account which travellers have given of their grandeur, their sciences and their policy, have hitherto excited admiration, but have not been sufficient to satisfy even a superficial curiosity. I therefore return you my thanks for having undertaken, at so great an expence, to convey to *English* readers the most copious and accurate account, yet published, of that remote and celebrated people, whose antiquity, magnificence, power, wisdom, peculiar customs, and excellent constitution, undoubtedly deserve the attention of the public.

As the satisfaction found in reading descriptions of distant countries arises from a comparison which every reader naturally makes, between the ideas which he receives from the relation, and those which were familiar to him before; or, in other words, between the countries with which he is acquainted, and that which the
author

author displays to his imagination; so it varies according to the likeness or dissimilitude of the manners of the two nations. Any custom or law unheard and unthought of before, strikes us with that *surprize* which is the effect of novelty; but a practice conformable to our own pleases us, because it flatters our self-love, by showing us that our opinions are approved by the general concurrence of mankind. Of these two pleasures, the first is more violent, the other more lasting; the first seems to partake more of instinct than reason, and is not easily to be explained, or defined; the latter has its foundation in good sense and reflection, and evidently depends on the same principles with most human passions. 2/2/

An attentive reader will frequently feel each of these agreeable emotions in the perusal of *Du Halde*. He will find a calm, peaceful satisfaction, when he reads the moral precepts, and wise instructions of the *Chinese* sages; he will find that virtue is in every place the same, and will look with new contempt on those wild reasoners, who affirm that morality is merely ideal, and that the distinctions between good and ill are wholly chimerical.

But he will enjoy all the pleasure that novelty can afford, when he becomes acquainted with the *Chinese* government and constitution; he will be amazed to find that there is a country where nobility and knowledge are the same, where men advance in rank as they advance in learning, and promotion is the effect of virtuous industry, where no man thinks ignorance a mark of greatness, or laziness the privilege of high birth.

His surprise will be still heightened by the relations he will there meet with of honest ministers, who, however

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ever incredible it may seem, have been seen more than once in that monarchy, and have adventured to admonish the emperors of any deviation from the laws of their country, or any error in their conduct, that has endangered either their own safety, or the happiness of their people. He will read of emperors, who, when they have been addressed in this manner, have neither stormed, nor threatened, nor kicked their ministers, nor thought it majestic to be obstinate in the wrong; but have, with a greatness of mind worthy of a Chinese monarch, brought their actions willingly to the test of reason, law, and morality, and scorned to exert their power in defence of that which they could not support by argument.

I must confess my wonder at these relations was very great, and had been much greater, had I not often entertained my imagination with an instance of the like conduct in a prince of *England*, on an occasion that happened not quite a century ago, and which I shall relate, that so remarkable an example of spirit and firmness in a subject, and of conviction and compliance in a prince, may not be forgotten. And I hope you will look upon this letter as intended to do honour to my country, and not to serve your interest by promoting your undertaking.

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The prince, at the christening of his first son, had appointed a noble duke to stand as proxy for the father of the princess, without regard to the claim of a marquis, (heir apparent to a higher title) to whom, as lord of the bed-chamber then in waiting, that honour properly belonged. — The marquis was wholly unacquainted with

with the affair, till he heard at dinner the duke's health drank by the name of the prince he was that evening to represent. This he took an opportunity after dinner of enquiring the reason of, and was informed by the prince's treasurer of his highness's intention. The marquis immediately declared, that he thought his right invaded, and his honour injured, which he could not bear without requiring satisfaction from the usurper of his privileges; nor would he longer serve a prince who paid no regard to his lawful pretensions. The treasurer could not deny that the marquis's claim was incontestable, and by his permission acquainted the prince with his resolution. The prince thereupon sending for the marquis, demanded, with a resentful and imperious air, how he could dispute his commands, and by what authority he presumed to controul him in the management of his own family, and the christening of his own son. The marquis answered, that he did not encroach upon the prince's right, but only defended his own: that he thought his honour concerned, and as he was a young man, would not enter the world with the loss of his reputation. The prince, exasperated to a very high degree, repeated his commands; but the marquis, with a spirit and firmness not to be depressed or shaken, persisted in his determination to assert his claim, and concluded with declaring that he would do himself the justice that was denied him, and that not the prince himself should trample on his character. He was then ordered to withdraw, and the duke coming to him, assured him, that the honour was offered him unasked; that when he accepted it, he was not informed of his lord-

lordship's claim, and that now he very willingly resigned it. The marquis very gracefully acknowledged the civility of the duke's expressions, and declared himself satisfied with his grace's conduct; but thought it inconsistent with his honour to accept the representation as a cession of the duke, or on any other terms than as his own acknowledged right. The prince, being informed of the whole conversation, and having upon enquiry found all the precedents on the marquis's side, thought it below his dignity to persist in an error, and restoring the marquis to his right upon his own conditions, continued him in his favour, believing that he might safely trust his affairs in the hands of a man, who had so nice a sense of honour, and so much spirit to assert it.

EUBULUS.

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